Street homelessness in urban Cape Town: An exploratory study of the lived experiences of people living on the streets

by
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Declaration

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness from the perspectives of the people who are living on the streets and government officials who work with this population group in urban Cape Town. Adults living on the streets (five males and six females) between the ages of 24 and 49 years were purposively selected. Additionally, two government officials working with the street homeless population for five years were also purposively selected. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with all the participants.

An interpretive phenomenological analysis inspired by Heidegger was used as a lens to analyze the transcribed data. Street homelessness emerged because of the loss of a home, and not as an intentional choice. For these individual's street homelessness is a spontaneous response to distressing life experiences. Another finding is that participants intentionally left their homes due to broken family systems, such as toxic family environments and abuse. These participants left their homes because they did not feel they belonged, as they were abandoned by their parents. For these individuals, street homelessness emerged as an expression of belonging. Street homelessness, from the perspective of the study participants, challenges the view that construes a house as a home, and which stipulates how people should inhabit their world. To survive on the street was characterized by being grouped with criminals and gangsters; labelling and dehumanization; and living in a state of fear. Despite these challenges, survival on the streets was made possible through a hope of a better life and being united with their children.

Keywords: lived experience, street homelessness, government officials, Heidegger, interpretive phenomenology, being-in-the-world

Opsomming

Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie was om die ervarings van straat haweloosheid te ondersoek vanuit die perspektiewe van die mense wat op straat woon, en regeringsamptenare wat saam met hierdie bevolkingsgroep in die stedelike Kaapstad werk. Volwassenes wat op straat woon (vyf mans en ses vroue) tussen 24 en 49 jaar is doelgerig gekies. Twee regeringsamptenare wat vyf jaar lank saam met die hawelose bevolking gewerk het, was ook doelgerig gekies. Daar is diepgaande semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met al die deelnemers gevoer.

Interpretatiewe fenomenologiese analise geïnspireer deur Heidegger was gebruik as 'n lens om die getranskribeerde data te ontleed. Straat haweloosheid het ontstaan as gevolg van die verlies van 'n huis, en nie as 'n opsetlike keuse nie. Straat haweloosheid is vir hierdie individue 'n spontane reaksie op ontstellende lewenservarings. Nog 'n bevinding is dat deelnemers doelbewus hul huise verlaat het weens gebroke gesinsisteme, soos onstabiele gesinsomgewings en mishandeling. Hierdie deelnemers het hul huise verlaat omdat hulle nie gevoel het dat hulle daar behoort nie en omdat hulle deur hul ouers verlaat is. Vir hierdie individue het haweloosheid na vore gekom as 'n uitdrukking van aanvaarding. Straat haweloosheid, vanuit die perspektief van die deelnemers aan die studie, daag die siening uit dat jy net tuis voel wanneer jy in 'n woning is, en ook die idees van hoe mense hul wêreld moet bewoon. Om op straat te oorleef was gekenmerk deur die volgende; met misdadigers te geassosieer word, om gestempel te word met negatiewe eienskappe, ontmensliking en om te leef in 'n toestand van vrees. Ten spyte van hierdie uitdagings is oorlewing op straat moontlik gemaak deur die hoop op 'n beter lewe en die hereniging met hul kinders.

Steutelwoorde: geleefde ervaring, straat haweloosheid, regeringsamptenare, Heidegger, interpretatiewe fenomenologie, in-die-wêreld-wees.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Homelessness is a visible social problem that can affect anyone who cannot afford shelter. Currently, it affects millions of people worldwide (Chamie, 2017). Homelessness is influenced by social, economic, and political factors. Some of these factors are beyond the individual's control, thus exposing many people to the risk of being homeless. Growing numbers of homeless people are visible in most societies around the world (Lee, Tylor, & Wright, 2010). In South Africa, the spread of homelessness is attributed to the movement of people from rural areas to the city, and people migrating from other countries (Tenai & Mbewu, 2020).

Homelessness affects people of all races in South Africa, but black and [1]coloured population groups constitute the largest number of street homelessness (De Beer, 2016; Roets, Botha, Greeff, Human, Strydom, & Watson, 2016). Street homeless people live in public toilets, urban parks, and under bridges and have no fixed address (Cross, Seager, Erasmus, Ward, & O'Donovan, 2010). In addition, street homelessness affects people of all ages in South Africa, including both adults and children (Cross et al., 2010). Globally and in South Africa, research is limited to [2]adults who are street homeless (Tipple & Speak, 2009). Research on homelessness has its foundation in the United States of America (USA), dating back to the historical, colonial American context in the 16th century (Kenneth, 2002).

Research on homelessness in the USA has developed gradually, and it informs the way homelessness is responded to in South Africa (Cross et al., 2010). Earlier research shows that homelessness stems from psycho-social problems such as social isolation, substance abuse, and mental illness (Bahr &

[1] According to the Population Registration Act (1950) each inhabitant of South Africa had to be classified and registered in accordance with their racial characteristics under the apartheid government (Posel, 2001). Under this Act, the word Coloured was used to refer to mixed races (Posel, 2001).
[2] Studies on street homelessness also focus on street children between the ages 14 and 18 years (Hills, Meyer-Weitz, & Asante, 2016), however, this study is focused on adults living on the streets.

Caplow, 1973). Although homelessness gives the impression of being related to these psycho-social problems in the USA; it is also a visible manifestation of being without shelter in South Africa (Naidoo, 2010). This view of homelessness, therefore, limits the understanding of the phenomenon to individual, and being seen as a social problem, with little consideration of the experiences of homelessness globally (du Toit, 2010). Homelessness can persist when unfavourable socio-economic conditions arise, such as unemployment, retrenchment, and when housing costs rise faster than income (Anderson & Collins, 2014). As the conceptualisation of homelessness has shifted from being viewed as a psycho-social problem to being viewed more as a lack of housing in the USA, South Africa follows this definition of homelessness as a lack of housing. However, South Africa has its unique definition of homelessness as well, which is related to past land distribution and restrictions.

In South Africa, homelessness is linked to its historical and colonial context. Colonialism in this context refers to a complex set of discriminatory actions, disciplinary strategies, and unequal power relations that originated from the governing white population groups, such as the Dutch and British people in South Africa (Harris, 2004). During this period, Black Africans, Indians, and Coloured population groups, hereinafter referred to as Black people, were without shelter because of land dispossessions and restrictions (Davenport & Hunt, 1974). Following the colonial climate in South Africa, which lasted from the 16th to the 18th century, land distribution and restrictions became the focus of the apartheid government (South African History Online (SAHO), 2020). The apartheid government socially and spatially controlled land by restricting the movement and access of Black people in urban areas (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). Consequently, millions of Black people lived in crowded townships, informal settlements, and on the streets (Cross et al., 2010; Olufemi, 2002). Therefore, the living standards of millions of Black people are intricately connected to racial segregation in South Africa (Sebake, 2017). Noticeably, separation of the White minority from the

Black majority, as well as to divide Black people along tribal lines to decrease their political and economic power seemed to be the central aim of the apartheid government (SAHO, 2020).

As democracy began in South Africa, the aim was to remove [3]Black people from the bondage of the legacy of apartheid; and when the African National Congress (ANC) assumed power in 1994, the government introduced a developmental policy committed to improving the living conditions for Black people in South Africa (Sebake, 2017). This post-apartheid South African government supplies housing through its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to redress the inequalities created by apartheid (Naidoo, 2010). Since the implementation of RDP in 1994 more than 3 million housing units have been delivered (Mosal, Venter, & Bain, 2017). Nevertheless, the housing deficit persists and despite RDP being superseded by the following developmental policies: Firstly, the Growth, Empowerment, and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996; secondly, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa (ASGISA) in 2005; thirdly, the New Growth Path (NGP) in 2010; and fourthly, the National Development Plan (NDP) in 2012 (Mosal et al., 2017).

According to the developmental policies in South Africa, public housing is prioritised based on the principle of restoring people's dignity and citizenship. This is also aimed at promoting equality in society and bettering the lives of Black people following centuries of racial exclusion (Ratshitanga, 2017). Nonetheless, the formative strategies implemented have become a barrier to many Black South Africans, since these strategies regulate who is eligible to receive housing subsidies (Ratshitanga, 2017). In addition, they advocate for sponsored housing, which reinforces the spatial patterns of apartheid in South Africa (Mosel et al., 2017). Notably, government housing is mainly located on the

[3] The South African law divides the population into four major racial categories: Firstly, Black Africans, of which the Nguni, and Sotho groups account for 90% of the Black population. Black population accounts 75 % of the South Africa's entire population. Secondly, the Whites people group accounts for 13% of the South Africa's entire population. Thirdly, the Coloured people who are a mixed population account for 9% of South Africa's entire population and fourthly, the Indian people account for 3% of the South Africa's entire population. Therefore, the word Black people in South Africa is used to refer to all none-whites; including black, coloured and Indians (SAHO, 2020).

outskirts of the city, making it difficult for people to commute in and out of the business district to earn a living (Cross & Seager, 2010; du Toit, 2010). The distance and travel costs from the government housing to the centres of economic activities needed daily by the people are unsustainable. Consequently, distance pushes people to remain on the street (du Toit, 2010). Nonetheless, when housing is provided in close proximity to the business district, the low income people earn from the economic activities can feed and help them to stay off the streets. As of now, many adults living on the streets remain a challenge for both citizens, government, and policymakers (Hills, Meyer-Weitz, & Asante, 2016). Therefore, South Africa's developmental policies inadvertently perpetuate street homelessness and increase inequality.

In South Africa, the crisis of homelessness has been approached from a legislative and policy perspective (Du Toit, 2010; Naidoo, 2010), instead of being dealt with from the point of view of the homeless people themselves. As a result, street homelessness is increasing despite the provision of houses and shelter (Roets et al., 2016, Somerville, 2013; Naidoo, 2010) as backed up by the legislation. This increase shows that the voice of homeless people has not been used in policy formulation and development. It implies further that homeless people are indeed left out of such deliberations even though policies affect them (Fopp & Parker, 2004). Yet it is in policy matters that the standpoint of people who are homeless is pertinent. What homeless people have to say has important implications for decision-making, even when their views contradict current policies and practices. Moreover, people affected by homelessness talk about a variety of issues that are often overlooked by policy makers (Fopp & Parker, 2004), and street homelessness and its dynamics seem to be understood not from the perspectives of those who are homeless, but rather from the perspectives of government officials, academics, and politicians (Somerville, 2013).

It may appear as if street homeless people do not want to be housed based on their willingness to live outside. This behaviour reflects street homelessness as a group of people that do not want to conform

to the societal models of belonging. Furthermore, this behaviour portrays the street homeless as criminals (Tenai & Mbewu, 2020). Yet, implied in this response is the idea that living in a house solves homelessness and people will no longer feel homeless at home. While shelter considerations are important, little is said about how people experiencing homelessness choose to live their lives. There have been very few attempts to hear what the homeless have to say about their lives and their situations. Observably, no official request or attention has been given by the government agencies or relevant stakeholders to capture real time experiences of the homeless. In most cases, the voices of the homeless are being heard in informal contexts like during casual conversations, informal complaints and making request for help about their living conditions. It is therefore questionable whether these responses are relevance to the individual experiences of homeless people (Walter, Jetten, Parsell, & Dingle, 2015). Street homelessness should therefore be seen differently from other categories of homelessness in South Africa (Cross et al., 2010), because street homelessness is not only due to a lack of shelter but rather as a way people choose to inhabit their world which is also motivated by absence of policy that specifically meant to guide them. Therefore, the experiences of street homelessness have become part of the understanding needed to combat this phenomenon. Additionally, the current experiences of the street homeless can provide more information about how spatial displacement forms the foundation of the ongoing poverty among the Black people in South Africa (De Beer, 2016). The same can be said of the current state of policy that guides homelessness in the country as factors other than land dispossession and restriction can be responsible for the avoidance of shelters, such as a preferred way of life and stigmatisation. Furthermore, the preoccupation with shelters, as with the developmental policies, also ignores the social and economic divisions established by the apartheid government (Turok & Borel-Saldin, 2016).

Meanwhile, designing effective interventions for street homelessness, the experiences, and perspectives of street homeless people, and government officials working with the street homeless,

needs to be incorporated. The experiences of street homeless people need to be the foundation of a policy designed to combat street homelessness in South Africa. The few studies that have been carried out on street homelessness in South Africa (Cross et al., 2010; du Toit, 2010; Naidoo, 2010; Olufemi, 1998 and 2000; Roets et al., 2016) focused on the development of a working policy for the street homeless population. However, the developmental policies characterise and link street homelessness to a lack of housing or shelter. Additionally, the current policy is focused on households who have a form of income; and the street homeless are not employed, and therefore do not have an income. The current policy is therefore not informed by the perspectives and experiences of people who are street homeless. It is imperative to understand that a working policy requires the perspectives and experiences of the people for whom it is designed.

To this end, this study explores the experiences of street homeless people as well as those of government officials who are in-charge or serve this population. Insight into these experiences can lead to better interventions and policies to address this social problem.

1.1. The rationale for this study

Street homelessness is a phenomenon driven by various factors. These factors can be social, economic, and political (Somerville, 2013). Currently, economic factors such as lack of housing are viewed as the main drivers of street homelessness (Cross et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2010). This lack of housing includes both absence and poor quality of shelter and has been used by several researchers concerning South Africa (Naidoo, 2010). Most notable is Olufemi (1998) who observed that homeless people in the inner-city of Johannesburg were living in squatter/shack housing and on the streets. Olufemi (2002) suggests that the chronic “African housing crisis” and the associated proliferation of subletting and squatting, which are the hallmarks of contemporary Johannesburg and other major cities in South Africa, have their roots in the apartheid policy. The reason for this is that Black

population groups were restricted from participating in the expansion of the economy in the cities, thus preventing them from building new housing (Olufemi, 2002). During apartheid, policies were enacted to control and restrict Black population groups from entering urban areas legally (De Beer & Vally, 2015) to the extent that black and coloured populations groups were not regarded as homeless in these urban areas, only white people (De Beer & Vally, 2015). Instead, they were classified as undesired persons to be removed and relocated to their designated areas as determined by the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 and Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 (De Beer & Vally, 2015). It was only in 1986 that the Influx Control Act No. 68 of 1950 was abolished and thereafter, Blacks and Coloureds were no longer regarded as criminals in urban areas (De Beer & Vally, 2015). Therefore, the South African government accepts that apartheid injustices have driven the lack of housing amongst black and coloured population groups (Naidoo, 2010) which consequently causes the belief that street homelessness is driven by a lack of housing (Naidoo, 2010). The broad rationale for this study is to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness and the extent to which they align with the current housing provision in South Africa. Research around this issue does point to other, more complex reasons for homelessness that go beyond merely a lack of housing, such as social, economic, and political factors.

In response to the multitude of the apartheid injustices, the South African government allows access to urban resources, such as the right to the city and assets, that black and coloured populations groups were previously denied. This includes adequate housing (Kriel, 2017). This is evident in the Housing Act (Act No. 107 of 1997 as amended) - while not referring to the homeless by name, or even to the situation of being homeless, section (1)(e)(iii), stipulates that national, provincial and local spheres of government must promote the establishment, development, and maintenance of socially and economically viable communities and safe and healthy living conditions to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions', that is, adequate housing (RSA, 1997 as cited in

Naidoo, 2010). However, in South Africa, people are still living on the streets despite transitional shelter (supportive, yet temporary, accommodation that is intended to bridge the gap from homelessness to permanent housing) being made available to them, albeit on the peripheries of society (Cross et al., 2010). This reality shows that homelessness is caused by issues far more complex than the South African government assumes. In this case, due to the distance between the provided shelters and the main economic centres where people find work opportunities, the people who live in these transitional shelters revert to living on the streets close to these economic centres and in urban areas (Aliber, 2002; De Beer & Vally, 2015). It is in these economic centres and urban areas that the street homeless turn to resource-generating efforts outside the formal economy, such as scavenging, recycling, bartering, street vending, plasma donations, and illegal acts such as theft, prostitution, and drug sales (Desjarlais, 1996). All these efforts are to sustain their livelihoods, and these strategies are more lucrative in areas of economic activities, where people who can support these strategies are found (Desjarlais, 1996).

Another complexity of this phenomenon is that there are transitional formal shelters near these centres of economic activities and closer to urban areas, but again, the street homeless avoid staying in them. Formal shelters are positively evaluated by government officials and civil society in terms of providing comfort and safety (Sanchez, 2010). However, the street homeless reportedly do not feel they have much independence and control inside these shelters (Moore, 2007). The street homeless value their sense of independence and control despite the obvious lack of physical security (Moore, 2007). This avoidance of shelters reveals again that street homelessness cannot be attributed solely or even primarily to a lack of housing.

Another reason for homelessness is that there are those for whom street homelessness may be an answer to a difficult home situation, as with women leaving home where they have been abused

(Somerville, 2013). This, therefore, means that homelessness becomes a psycho-social issue, and certainly more complicated than an issue stemming from a lack of resources.

Nevertheless, despite research proving the complexity of reasons relating to street homelessness, the government has responded to this issue by adopting coercive approaches such as 'clearance and sheltering', zero-tolerance policing', and diverted giving schemes which are intended to remove the street homeless from the city (Paasche, Yarwood, & Sidaway, 2012). Homeless people's experiences are, therefore, overlooked in the rush to draw them back into conventional models of accommodation.

Taking this into consideration, it can be argued that, when investigating street homelessness, it is important to understand the lived experience of street homelessness and its prevalence from the perspectives of the people who live on the streets. These perspectives could uncover what street homelessness is in South Africa and form the foundation for strategies to deal more effectively with street homelessness. It is for this reason that this study explores and documents the experiences of those who are currently living on the streets.

1.2. Research aims

The primary aim of the research was to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness from the perspectives of those who are living on the streets and from the perspective of government officials who serve the street homeless in urban Cape Town.

The sub-aims of the research were to:

- explore how people who are living on the streets describe themselves in relation to street homelessness;

- explore how people who are living on the streets make sense of their daily lives, the people around them, and the life circumstances they find themselves in as a result of being street homeless;
- explore the experiences of government officials working with people who are street homeless, and how such experiences help them to make sense of what street homelessness means within the South African context.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 above introduces the concept of homelessness in South Africa and explains the rationale and aims of the study. Chapter 2 provides a review of the existing literature on homelessness both internationally and in South Africa, with a focus on street homelessness. Chapter 3 describes the research methods that were utilised in the research process. Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical framework I used to make sense of my findings. Chapter 5 reports on the findings of the study, firstly, the experiences of the street homeless participants and secondly, the experiences of government officials. Lastly, Chapter 6 concludes the study and provides a discussion on strengths and limitations, as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Research on homelessness has its foundation in the United States of America (USA), dating back to the historical, colonial American context in the 16th century (Kenneth, 2002). Following the United States of America is the United Kingdom (UK), with the largest extant literature on homelessness in the English-speaking world (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006). Considering this, I begin this chapter by looking at the international understanding of homelessness, focusing on the USA and the UK. Thereafter, I will discuss the origins of homelessness in South Africa. In the final section of the chapter, I will discuss the concepts that I have used related to my research and expand on these concepts.

2.2. Conceptualisation and the definition of homelessness

It is important to note that there is no single, generally accepted definition of homelessness (Burt, Aron, Lee, & Valente, 2001). Nonetheless, a definition of homelessness is important for a variety of reasons (Burt et al., 2001). From the point of view of prompt activity, definitions distinguish who is qualified to get services among homeless people. Furthermore, they indicate who should be counted and described. Moreover, they recognize who should be planned for and what policies will be most relevant to the type of assistance needed (Burt et al., 2001). In the literature around homelessness, there are research-based as well as statutory definitions of homelessness as will be shown in the succeeding section.

2.2.1. Research-based definitions of homelessness

In the USA, studies on homelessness in the 1950s and 1960s focused on men who used single room occupancy hotels and boarding houses situated in the city centres (Shly & Rossi, 1992). During this

period, homelessness was defined in terms of personal ties and relationships with broader society. Homelessness was therefore not seen as a housing problem (Shly & Rossi, 1992). It was believed that homelessness is "caused" by a failure of relationships between an "individual" and "society" (Somerville, 2013, p. 389). This definition shows that homelessness was viewed as a state of separation from society, described by the attenuation of or weakening of the associate bonds that linked settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures (Bar & Caplow, 1973 cited in Somerville, 2013). Contemporary definitions of homelessness are directly linked to the housing situation of persons; currently, homelessness is understood as a lack of housing (Lee, Tyler, & Wright, 2010; Toro, 2007).

The definition of homelessness as a lack of housing incorporates people who have no shelter at all, as well as those who use emergency shelters for housing in the USA (Lee et al., 2010). Other researchers extend it to include people who have some shelter, such as people living with relatives and friends, hospitals, prisons or even renting a room in hotels (Lee et al., 2010). The extension of the definition opens a social expectation about how people should be housed, thus leading to a very broad subjective understanding of homelessness focusing not only on the lack of housing but also on quality. As a result, some researchers shift to a narrower explanation of homelessness and settle on the "literally homeless", which applies to people staying in shelters designed for homeless people; on the streets; in abandoned buildings; in make-shift structures, and in public parks (Toro, 2007, p. 463).

When people are "literally homeless", this means that shelter is intermittent; patterns of time spent living without shelter vary (Toro, 2007). According to Lee et al. (2010), the patterns include transitional homelessness – describing people who have been homeless just for a shorter period; episodic homelessness – this refers to people who cycle in and out of homelessness over a shorter period; and chronic homelessness describes people who are without shelter for longer periods. Homelessness in the USA is, therefore, defined based on three elements separately or in combination:

Firstly, absence of connections to the family or society; secondly, the transience of place; and thirdly, lack of housing.

Similarly, before the 1960s, the UK leaned towards what is now known as the individualistic pathology approach in its explanation of homelessness (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006). In the early eighteenth century, the UK adopted supportive and punitive measures that restricted able-bodied men from begging on the street. In response to street homelessness, they sentenced people to hard labour (Cannon cited in Cross et al., 2010). Only in the early twentieth century, did this approach to homelessness turn to prevention and alleviation measures (Cross et al., 2010). The UK initially focused on ill health and substance dependencies in their understanding of homelessness (Pleace & Quilgars, 2003). They believed that homeless people were culpable for their situation of homelessness (Neale, 1997). This began to change in the mid-1960s as more research emerged (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006). Research in the UK began in 1964 due to a surge of homeless families in reception centres in London (Greve, 1964 cited in Neale, 1997). These studies advocated that homelessness was the result of housing market failure rather than individual choice or family failings (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006). The outcomes of the research revealed that homelessness in London was due to increases in rents, insecurity of tenure, low wages, and housing shortages (Greve, 1964 cited in Neale, 1997). Following these results, the prevailing conceptions of the individualistic pathology approach were challenged. A structural, housing-market based account of homelessness dominated until the 1980s. It is important to note that these initial studies focused on families with children and excluded single persons who were homeless (Pleace & Quilgars, 2003). Yet, the housing-market failures experienced were not limited to families with children and extended to single people as well. As housing-market failures could be rooted in economic changes, the exclusion of single people could imply that there was a reluctance to move away from the individualistic pathology approach.

As further research developed, studies on single homeless people particularly those "sleeping rough" began to emerge (Toro, 2007, p. 471). Rough sleeping is a colloquial term used to allude to the state of being in a real sense without cover or dwelling in a sanctuary not intended for human habitation in the UK (Toro, 2007). The term translates to what is referred to as street people in the USA (Toro, 2007). Studies on people sleeping rough revealed high levels of ill health and support needs among this population group (Sommerville, 2013). Consequently, this challenged the view that homelessness was due to structural factors. The prevalence of ill health and support needs led to a set of assertions described as the "new orthodoxy" of homelessness (Somerville, 2013, p. 388). The "new orthodoxy" of homelessness posits that structural variables such as housing shortages, rising levels of poverty, and unemployment, create the conditions within which homelessness occurs and persists (Somerville, 2013, p. 388). People with personal problems are more vulnerable to adverse social and economic conditions (Somerville, 2013). The high concentration of people with support needs in the homeless population could be attributed to structural factors rather than lacking responsibility. While being careful not to revert to the individualistic pathology approach, the UK acknowledges structural factors and individual needs.

Unlike the USA, the UK distinguishes three groups of homeless people. Firstly, 'homeless families'; secondly, 'single homelessness'; and thirdly, 'rough sleeping' (Fitzpatrick, Kemp, & Klinker, 2000; Naele, 1997). 'Homeless families' refer to those with dependent children and pregnant women, whereas 'single homeless' is used as a shorthand term to cover all homeless households without responsibility for dependent children – childless couples and single people (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Both homeless families and single homeless people are people who lived in hotels and reception centres for longer periods and cardboard boxes in a place called 'Cardboard Cities' (Neale, 1997). 'Cardboard Cities' was the name for an informal settlement composed of cardboard box dwellers near Waterloo station in London (Neale, 1997). Rough sleeping refers to people who sleep in the open air

or a place not designed for habitation for at least one night (Kennedy & Fitzpatrick, 2001). Similar to the USA, homelessness in the UK is a broader term that encompasses not only rough sleepers but also people staying with friends and relatives temporarily; those who live in hostels, and bed-and-breakfast accommodation (Kennedy & Fitzpatrick, 2001).

In research, these definitions range from strict interpretations to those that encompass a broader perspective. Consequently, homelessness seems to have different connotations. Homelessness seems to refer to a lack of one's stable residence, but from a broader sociological definition, homelessness recognises the quality of interactions, material, and social support of a person. Contemporary definitions stress the housing situation of a person, but there is still much disagreement between the meaning of 'shelter', 'house', and 'home'.

2.2.2. Statutory definitions of homelessness

In the US, The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (2009) defines a homeless person as an individual who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence; an individual or family whose primary night-time residence is a supervised temporary shelter, institution, or a place not ordinarily used for sleeping or conducive for human habitation (Lee et al., 2010). Under this Act, homelessness assistance is limited to individuals who meet income eligibility requirements (Richards, 2019). In the UK, the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977, (currently known as homelessness legislation), covers not only people 'sleeping rough' – on the streets, or staying in temporary homeless accommodation, but also those who could lose their accommodation – threatened with homelessness or living in unreasonable accommodation, such as substandard accommodation or where there is a threat of domestic violence (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006). To define people who are using old buildings, street venues, and sidewalks as homeless, appears to be straightforward. However, for people who are living with friends and relatives and in domestic violence situations, the definition is

vague and open to different interpretations (Lee et al., 2010). People living in these institutions may not be homeless, but their state of being housed depends on the existence of the facilities they are using (Ravenhill, 2008). For this reason, researchers sometimes use definitions that extend beyond these statutory categories to encompass, for example, people who are precariously housed (Lee et al., 2010).

In the UK, the statutory definition of homelessness, as contained within section 58 of the Housing Act 1985 (Part III), states that a person or household is homeless if they have no accommodation in England, Wales, and Scotland as well as when there is no accommodation which they are legally entitled to book (Neale, 1997). The accommodation must be adequate for the household to live in (Neale, 1997). Implied in this definition is that the interpretation of homelessness is dependent on the local authority assessing a person or the household situation. For example, a local authority decides if a person's homelessness is intentional and whether an individual can be rehoused if they are foreigners (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006; Neale, 1997). Furthermore, people who fall out of the 'priority needs' groups are not eligible to be housed (Neale, 1997). According to the Housing Act 1985, 'priority needs' groups are households that have dependent children or a woman who is pregnant; people who are vulnerable in some way, for example, due to age or mental illness; and people made homeless by an emergency, such as flood or fire (Fitzpatrick & Christian, 2006; Neale, 1997). Therefore, the Housing Act 1985 decides who is homeless, and qualifies for housing assistance. The Housing Act of 1985 thus excludes people who have no homes because they are responsible for their homelessness. Therefore, in the UK, homelessness is defined as a housing problem 'caused' by either structural or by individual factors, with homeless people deemed either deserving or undeserving (Somerville, 2013). Thus, even though this Act draws on research done on homeless families and single homelessness, it still relies on both structural and individual explanations of homelessness. Meanwhile, the focus on individual pathology has distinct strands.

Individuals are considered responsible for their homelessness and, hence, guilty, and blameworthy (Neale, 1997). Alternatively, the focus is on personal failure or inadequacy for which an individual cannot be held entirely responsible. Therefore, understanding homelessness in the UK falls between these two broad categories: individual and structural understandings of homelessness (Pleace & Quilgars, 2003; Neale, 1997).

The academic explanations of homelessness in the UK and the USA show that people are homeless due to structural and individual factors (Bramley & Fitzpatrick, 2018). The combination of both structural and individual problems has resulted in what is now known as the "new orthodoxy" of homelessness (Somerville, 2013, p. 388). The "new orthodoxy" asserts that structural variables such as housing shortages, rising poverty levels, and unemployment, create the conditions within which homelessness occurs and determine its overall extent; people with personal problems are more vulnerable to social and economic conditions than others, hence they become homeless (Somerville, 2013, p. 388). Underlying this explanation is that while the numbers and roots of homelessness differ, homelessness is conceptually similar everywhere (Holt, Christian, & Larkin, 2012). This cannot, however, be true. For example, in the US, homelessness does not originate from a housing shortage, but rather the lack of affordable housing which makes housing inaccessible to individuals who earn minimum wage (Jan, Dewey, & Stein, 2018). There are houses in the United States of America, but not all people can afford them. In every state, apartments for rental are above minimum wage (Jan et al., 2018). Therefore, lack of housing could be implying a lack of affordable housing in the United State of America, but not a shortage of housing as in other developing countries including South Africa. This shows that one needs to be cautious in adopting concepts and strategies developed for, and in, industrialised countries when dealing with the phenomenon of homelessness (Holt et al., 2012). These approaches may work well as a framework in developed countries, but the scale of homelessness in South Africa, and the diversity of those who experience homelessness, suggest that

something other than personal difficulties is at play in making people vulnerable to structural factors (Holt et al., 2012). Therefore, without a good, context-specific, conceptual understanding of homelessness, countries globally run the risk of making the 'problem' fit the current knowledge available and acceptable solutions, such as the provision of shelter (Holt et al., 2012). The issue of a lack of housing has been broadly accepted as the main factor resulting in homelessness, and it currently forms the foundation on which homelessness is conceptualised globally, as well as in South Africa (Holt et al., 2012).

2.3. Homelessness in South Africa

The definition of homelessness in South Africa is linked to the country's historical, colonial context. Colonialism in this context refers to complex sets of the discriminatory action, disciplinary strategies, and unequal power relations that originated from the governing white population groups in South Africa (Harris, 2004). Under colonialism and apartheid, land use planning was instrumental in achieving racial and spatial segregation (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). Colonial land legislation in South Africa used restrictive conditions in title deeds to limit the use of land by black people (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2012). The Black Land Act 27 of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act 18 of 1936 were laws implemented for racially and differentiated land use in South Africa (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). Both Acts precluded black people from owning land outside the reserve areas (Robertson, 1987). Furthermore, the Acts prohibited black people from buying or renting land in 93% of South Africa (Muller, 2013). Black people, despite being more predominant in numbers, were confined to ownership of 7% of the total land in South Africa (Muller, 2013). White people, although the minority, occupied 93% of the total land in South Africa (Muller, 2013). Even though land ownership to Black people increased to 13%, dispossession of land resulted in large-scale evictions and spatial displacement (Muller, 2013). Given the small portion of the land allocated to Black people; many of them were left without shelter (Davenport & Hunt, 1974). Eventually, the two Acts

seized the very asset, namely the right to land ownership, which was central to Black people and rendered them destitute.

Davenport and Hunt (1974) confirm that vagrancy and squatting in South Africa were initiated by dispossession of land from Black people by the governing White population groups during the colonial and apartheid eras, in places such as the Cape, Free State, and Transvaal. As a result, vagrancy became a characteristic of landless Black people moving around the restricted areas. These patterns of behaviour are like the characteristics of contemporary street homelessness, in which people occupy unused land in urban areas. Moreover, Black people struggled to conserve their land, no matter how small it was, because the areas they were pushed into were characteristically rural, underdeveloped and had limited agricultural or mining potential (Sinclair-Smith & Turok, 2012, p. 7). The impact of land dispossession and restrictions reduced Black people into servitude. Black people's position weakened further when White farmers were offered loans to improve their farms by using machinery; and half of the Black people migrated from the White farms (Sinclair-Smith & Turok, 2012). It would have been difficult for black farmers to compete with white farmers who could use improved methods and expand their farms whilst black farmers received no support from the government. Subsequently, black people lost their farms and were forced into various forms of oppressive labour relationships in exchange for tenure (Sinclair-Smith & Turok, 2012). Nonetheless, the government stepped in to limit the number of Black people congregating on White people's farms (Muller, 2013). This forced many Black people to return to the overcrowded homelands, while others chose to travel to the urban centres in search of unskilled employment opportunities (Muller, 2013). This shows that land dispossession and restrictions had substantial consequences for Black people's tenure in rural areas; and this laid the foundation for segregation in urban areas.

In urban areas, segregation was enforced through the enactment of the Black (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923 and the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966 (Muller, 2013). The purpose of these Acts was to

establish separate areas for the different race groups in South Africa (Muller, 2013). According to the Population Registration Act (1950), each inhabitant of South Africa had to be classified and registered under their racial characteristics set by the apartheid government (Posel, 2001). The following racial classifications under this law were: Blacks, Whites, Indians, and Coloureds (mixed races) (Posel, 2001). These racial classifications later determined access to social, political, educational, and economic rights (Posel, 2001). More importantly, racial classifications were used to control the use, occupation, and acquisition of land in urban areas (Muller, 2013). Black people employed within the jurisdiction of urban areas were prohibited from obtaining residence anywhere else other than the hostels provided (Muller, 2013). Therefore, the Acts not only dispossessed and restricted land; they laid the foundation for separate development between White and Black people in South Africa.

Black people were formally excluded from living in White urban areas for many years (Davenport & Hunt, 1974), but the increased demand for cheap labour within the urban economy eventually resulted in declining urban restrictions imposed on Black people (Wilson, 2011). Black people were accommodated in locations outside urban areas in terms of the Black (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923, which were later formally recognised as townships under the Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 (Wilson, 2011). The new townships were located at a distance from the urban areas and surrounded by green belts.[4], in line with contemporary international planning practices (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). The new townships were also characterised by poor access to basic services and restricted income-generation opportunities for Black people (Harrison & Watson, 2008). However, the dismantling of apartheid gave rise to a period of rapid urbanisation, which resulted in significant housing shortages for Black people (Pienaar, 2002). As the formally established townships were too far from economic opportunities, Black people started to settle informally on vacant land near towns and cities (Strauss

[4] Green belts are tools used in planning to prevent urban sprawl by keeping land permanently open; a buffer zone separating between urban and rural, town and country and preserving land for forestry, agriculture, and wildlife (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014).

& Liebenberg, 2014). This culminated in urban areas with distinct spatial forms that reflected patterns of racial segregation and systemic disadvantages (De Beer, 2016).

Evidently, for centuries South African planning under the apartheid government aimed to control the use of land, and thus selective development (Van Wyk, 2012). Under apartheid, mass evictions, motivated by discriminatory land legislation, were instrumental in achieving racial segregation and spatial exclusion (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). The laws enacted by the apartheid government systematically deprived Black people of formal access to land and housing in urban areas and entrenched socio-economic and spatial inequality, thereby creating the conditions for the unlawful occupation of land and property (Sinclair-Smith & Turok, 2016). Land rights conferred and concentrated economic and social power in the hands of the white minority and enabled the economic exploitation of other races (Muller, 2013). Therefore, the current South African government feels obliged to provide housing as a means of correcting the injustices suffered by black people (Naidoo, 2010). Land dispossession and restrictions are thought by the current government in South Africa to have produced the following groups of homeless in the South African context: People who have no shelter (the street-homeless) and those in emergency shelters (night shelter users) (Cross et al., 2010). It also includes other forms of shelter (shack dwellers) and people living with relatives (Cross et al, 2010).

In South Africa, spatial inequalities, and social exclusion from formal access to land and housing continue to hold profound implications for many Black people. The circumstances of social inequalities are patent in situations where poor and marginalised groups are forcibly removed and relocated from inner-city properties or informal settlements to the peripheries of city (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). With the advent of democracy in 1994, the South African government enforced socio-economic rights in the Constitution as a way of redressing both past and present causes of marginalisation and spatial exclusion suffered by black people in the context of housing rights

(Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). Before the collapse of apartheid, the African National Congress (ANC) unveiled a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as its manifesto for leading the reconstruction of South Africa (Ratshitanga, 2017). In 1992, political parties, civic organisations, research bodies, and private sector representatives convened the National Housing Forum (NHF) to draft new policies for housing provision. Included in this Forum were decisions about whether housing should be private or public, the type of housing that will be offered, and the lack of private-sector housing finance for the poor (Ratshitanga, 2017). The motivation behind the RDP and NHF was the Constitution, Section 26, Chapter 2, of the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution. The Constitution proclaims that: firstly, everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing; secondly, the state must take reasonable measures to achieve the progressive realisation of this right within the available resources; and thirdly, the South African government must act against arbitrary evictions (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014). Thus, the South African government must ensure that those living in deplorable conditions or confronted with homelessness gain access to adequate housing. The failure to implement a housing policy that provides relief for people with no access to land, no roof over their heads, and who are living in intolerable conditions or crises is a violation of Section 26 of the Constitution (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014).

In South Africa, most of the public housing is produced by the RDP, colloquially known as RDP housing (Cirolia, 2014). The programme targets citizens or people who have permanent residency in South Africa and earn less than R3500 household income per month (Cirolia, 2014). In 2014, 2.8 million houses and 800 000 service stands were delivered, impacting the lives of approximately 12.5 million people in terms of access to accommodation and fixed assets (Ratshitanga, 2017). Nevertheless, housing provisions inadvertently perpetuate street homelessness. Government houses are provided in the peripheries of the city, which makes it difficult for people to commute in and out of the city centres to sustain their livelihoods (Cross & Seager, 2010; du Toit, 2010; Turok & Borel-

Saldin, 2016). As these government houses are situated outside the cities, people must travel long distances to reach the city to sustain their livelihood. As a result, distance pushes them to remain on the streets (du Toit, 2010). The government seems to forget that the quality of the environment, as well as facilities, and accessibility to jobs and amenities is crucial to the creation of viable and integrated communities (Turok & Borel-Saldin, 2016). The minute the homeless move back onto the street, they cease to be taken care of by the South African government (Cross et al., 2010). The government does not provide any services for the street homeless.

However, it is incomprehensible to regard those who live in the open and sleep on pavements and in dilapidated buildings as not being homeless, despite housing provisions from the South African government (Olufemi, 1998). The perpetuation of apartheid planning, in which the government shifts Black people to the peripheries of society, can be related to the cost of land and the demand to meet housing backlogs (Ratshitanga, 2017). Cheap land is available on the peripheries of society and thus becomes a default location for a rapid provision of public housing (Ratshitanga, 2017). Nonetheless, the number of people who are living and sleeping in the above-mentioned conditions increases daily in the major metropolitan areas, including the Cape Town region. (Seager & Tamasane, 2010).

It is due to the government housing situated in the peripheries of society that many people seek shelter through informal settlements such as sprawling ‘slums’ (agglomerations of self-build shacks), backyard shacks (often adjacent to formally constructed housing), and ‘hijacked’ (informally occupied) tenement buildings (Cirolia, 2014, p. 398). According to Statistics South Africa (2011), approximately 14% of households live in informal dwellings. The identified major cities with an increase of informal housing over the past ten years are Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Tshwane (Cirolia, 2014). It is estimated that there are 2 700 informal settlements across the country, consisting of about 1.2 million households, and another 600 000 households in backyard shacks (Cirolia, 2014). Most of these shacks are in and around the cities because they grow due to migration from rural to

urban areas by people who are seeking employment in the cities (Turok, 2016). The persistence of informal housing and settlements reflects the lack of accommodation options available to poor households (Cirolia, 2014). This shows that well-allocated and affordable housing can reduce the number of people living in informal dwellings. Informal settlements act as important access points into the city and enable poor households to access amenities, work opportunities, facilities, and urban services (Cirolia, 2014). The number of people living in the above-mentioned shacks in turn overshadows the street homeless people (Cross et al., 2010).

In South Africa, the government finds it difficult to distinguish the street homeless from people who are inadequately housed (Naidoo, 2010). Aliber (2002) in Pretoria and Coordinated Action with Street People (CASP) in Cape Town, observed that some of the homeless people found on the streets came from the informal settlements and townships surrounding the cities (Cross et al., 2010). Du Toit (2010) suggests that the homeless population in South Africa can be roughly divided into three groups: informal settlement dwellers; temporary overnight sleepers and detached homeless people. Informal settlement dwellers and overnight sleepers are temporarily homeless as they are housed or inadequately housed (du Toit, 2010). Being homeless for these two groups is in part a way of coping with the difficulties of securing stable employment, while the detached homeless people sustain their livelihoods through the informal trade (du Toit, 2010). The detached homeless people live on the streets permanently to sustain their livelihoods through informal trade. Therefore, the vague and possibly shifting boundaries between the street homeless and the inadequately housed make it difficult to estimate the extent of street homelessness in South Africa (Naidoo, 2010).

According to the recent research estimate by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), there are approximately 200 000 street homeless people in South Africa, a small portion of the nation's population of 53.5 million (De Beer & Vally, 2015). However, researchers question the accuracy of this number given the increasing numbers of street-homeless people in South Africa (Rule-

Groenewald, Timol, Khalema, & Desmond, 2015). Research estimates for the number of street-homeless people vary and include both rural and urban homelessness (Kok, Catherine, & Roux, 2010). Therefore, the South African government must find accurate estimates to account for the street homeless population. The government has tried in the past to include street homeless populations in some statistical counts; however, this did not lead to new policies (Olufemi, 2000). Nonetheless, these counts yield inconclusive results, meaning that the results cannot accurately account for the groups counted, such as the street homeless, shelter users, people living in shacks, and rural homelessness, as these are homeless groups that are found in South Africa (Cross et al., 2010). Consequently, the South African government could not draft a new policy for the street homeless as the results were inconclusive. Furthermore, the size of the homeless population depends on the definition employed (Naidoo, 2010). For example, Stats SA defines homeless people as those found living on the streets, in public toilets, and under bridges (Naidoo, 2010). Stats SA has confirmed that in 2007, there were empirical difficulties in counting this population and that 11 391 was an under-count (Naidoo, 2010).

2.4. Homeless mobility

Homeless people are constantly on the move; hence they are considered a highly mobile population group (Cross et al., 2010). However, there are forces at play behind homeless mobility, such as how people who are homeless are managed (Bourlessas, 2018). Institutional contexts such as shelter regulations increase the movement of homeless people (Bourlessas, 2018). Therefore, counting homeless people who use shelters can have a major influence on obtaining reliable numbers. The numbers can be hampered by factors such as erratic availability and use of support services, the transiency of the population, and the intermittence of the homeless status (Burt et al., 2001). The lack of fixed address leads to individuals being counted more than once or not at all (De Beer & Vally, 2015). As De Beer and Vally (2015) posit, going to doors to count people does not work, because the homeless have no doors; they have no address beyond a shelter bed, room number, tent, or a cave.

Therefore, finding people living in the above-listed dwellings is not easy and can be difficult to track (Kok et al., 2010). Furthermore, people who are using informal dwellings are prone to crises, such as fires, flooding, and evictions, which make their rootedness difficult to maintain (Cirolia, 2014).

Homeless people also work very hard to hide their homelessness due to stigmatisation and therefore they miss being counted (Moore, 2007). These settings make it difficult to count street homeless individuals accurately (Kok et al., 2010), as can be seen in Stats SA 2001 census data (Rule-Groenewald et al., 2015).

Stats SA claims that all people are accounted for in the censuses, including the street-homeless, yet national census data on the street-homeless is non-existent in South Africa (Rule-Groenewald et al., 2015). At present, absolute numbers of street-homeless people have been difficult for Statistics South Africa to produce (Rule-Groenewald et al., 2015). It is, however, important to understand that census data is traditionally accomplished based on a household, and the street homeless do not have a household (Rule-Groenewald et al., 2015), thus presenting a difficulty in acquiring any accurate results (Kok et al., 2010).

The inability to obtain accurate numbers makes it difficult to distinguish the street homeless, in policy interventions, from people who are inadequately housed (Kok et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2010; Olufemi, 2000). The government sees mobility as the reason for the inaccessibility of services that are eligible by policy (Naidoo, 2010). There is currently no policy in place that governs the street homeless population in South Africa (Cross et al., 2010). Government alludes to difficulties of a highly mobile population as impeding the process of drafting a policy (Cross & Seager, 2010). From this position, mobility among the street homeless is seen as inappropriate and signifies a lack of responsibility and rootedness (Bourlessas, 2018). Yet, homeless people's lifestyle practices and movements for survival strategies need to be considered (Cross & Seager, 2010; du Toit, 2010). Nonetheless, mobility in South Africa has not adequately been defined, as it could be referring to the frequent movement of

people living on the streets throughout the city, or people moving in and out of the city. Mobility is not an inherent characteristic of street homelessness, but mobility is initiated by government departments and/or powerful members in a society that prioritises business interest over the needs of the poor (Cross et al., 2010). However, mobility has become the characteristic of street homelessness (Kok et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2010; Olufemi, 2000).

Furthermore, movements in and out of the city can be a result of the need to travel from the government houses to the city (du Toit, 2010), as the rural to urban migration can be regarded as a certain type of mobility (Habibis, 2011). The government arguably seems to accommodate rural to urban mobility in South Africa, because it provides land for the migrants from rural areas to build shacks in its major cities (Naidoo, 2010). Furthermore, shack dwellers are the homeless category that benefits from government services (Cross et al., 2010). The category of homeless people who occupy the shacks, provided for by the government is people who moved from the 'homelands' such as the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele due to limited economic opportunities, changes in relationship contexts, institutionalisation, and school attendance in urban areas. (Habibis, 2011. Cross et al., 2010).

In principle, the government understands that the spatial displacement of the past was unjust, hence it provides pieces of land for the migrants from rural areas to the major metropolitans in South Africa, including Cape Town (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 64). These migrants then fall under the category of shack dwellers (Cross & Seager, 2010). Yet, it was the street homeless in the central cities that were observable after the deterioration of apartheid, not people living in shack areas (Cross et al., 2010). The street homeless are different from the shack population living in informal settlements (Cross et al., 2010) and therefore cannot be incorporated under the same policies. The street homeless are concentrated in urban areas, and rural districts and appear to be functionally descended from South Africa's displaced 'vagrant' population of the apartheid era (Cross et al., 2010, p. 15). While the issue

of mobility is not defined, the street homeless will remain excluded from government services until the definition of mobility is dealt with in the South Africa context. Therefore, 'mobility' lays the blame on the victim, while at the same time it can be used by the government to mask its inability to address the needs of the street homeless population (Cross et al., 2010). Hence, the government cannot claim to be correcting the injustices of the past, while at the same time approving spatial patterns of segregation through the provision of houses in the peripheries of society (Ratshitanga, 2017).

In spite of the government's approach, South Africa cannot afford to have street homelessness increase (Cross & Seager, 2010). Street homelessness in South Africa is no longer constricted to the central areas of the city; it now spreads to the city parks, pavements, and in bushes close to more affluent suburbs (De Beer, 2016). For example, the Tshwane homelessness research project found 6244 homeless people roaming the streets in Pretoria (Kriel, 2017). Additionally, the Street People's Programme found 7383 homeless people in Cape Town (Hendricks, Gideon, Mwhakanazi, Rodriguez, & van Wyk, 2015). Of these people, 4862 were living on the streets in Cape Town's Central Business District (CBD), the Foreshore, Bellville, Goodwood, Strandfontein, Parow, Wynberg, Sea Point, Portlands, Table View, Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain, Kuilsriver, Claremont, Woodstock, Lansdowne, Lentegeur, Muizenberg, Vredehoek, Oranjezicht, Retreat, and in Milnerton (Hendricks et al., 2015). This spontaneous land occupation and suburbanisation of street homelessness is increasing rapidly in South Africa (De Beer & Vally, 2015), including Cape Town. Although this is a spontaneous and economically driven infiltration of the suburbia from the rural, township, and informal settlement areas, it is worth noting that urban land continues to be outside the ambit of redistribution (Cirolia, 2014).

Street homeless people across the City of Cape Town seem to challenge the balance of existing property rights with those of housing and land access by using private land or land not fit for human

settlement (Cirolia, 2014). Consequently, the City of Cape Town adopted the Emergency Housing Programme (EHP) in its five-year strategic plan from July 1, 2012, to June 17, 2017, to assist the street homeless with temporary shelter. This temporary shelter is provided in areas known as Transitional Areas (TRAs) in and around the city, both in state and borrowed land. Nonetheless, these TRAs are also in undesirable locations because they are often developed when few options of land are available (Cirolia, 2014). For example, in Cape Town, most of the bigger TRAs – including the Delft and Symphony Way (colloquially referred to as Blikkiesdorp – which translates to "tin town") are far from the city and off the dominant public transport routes. Furthermore, the TRAs were intended to be for temporary accommodation or 'incremental development areas' assisting towards the upgrade of informal settlement (Cirolia, 2014), yet TRAs in Delft and Langa, about 20 km away from the city, have been in use for more than eight years. This shows that despite the delivery of a million homes (albeit in poor areas), many homeless people are stuck on the growing waiting list wherein their qualification for a housing subsidy, and thus the right to adequate housing has become an indefinite promise (Cirolia, 2014). Subsequently, the street homeless have been identified in Cape Town as a resistant category that rejects shelter provision and assistance from civil society because they refuse to stay in the TRAs that are provided in the peripheries of society without any sustainable livelihoods (CASP, 2000; Cross & Seager, 2010).

It may appear as if street homeless people do not want to be housed due to the distances of the shelters, and their willingness to stay on the street (du Toit, 2010). However, shelters need to be paired up with their livelihoods. The current experiences of the street homeless about shelters can provide more information about how spatial displacement forms the foundation of the ongoing poverty among the black population groups in this region (De Beer, 2016). The lack of land rights as mentioned earlier can be understood as a key contributor to street homelessness. Nonetheless, the lack of land rights is not just about the lack of shelter. Colonisers had the cultural assumption that black people were

savages who did not use land adequately (Harris, 2004). Therefore, homelessness as a consequence of the lack of land rights cannot be limited to a lack of housing. The lack of land rights meant that black population groups could no longer participate socially, economically, and politically in matters that related to land, and such practices are still obvious in the management of the street homeless in urban Cape Town. The City of Cape Town's administrative stance tends to be hostile towards the street homeless who are not using shelters (Cross et al., 2010). The City of Cape Town uses police clearances, and criminalisation also emerges from concerns of the business community and other economically committed interest groups (Cross et al., 2010). But the limitation of street homelessness to being roofless is one dimensional and ignores social, economic, and political factors.

The historical foundations of homelessness discussed in this section, both internationally and in South Africa, revealed the importance of the physical context of homelessness, though it is often neglected in research (Moore, 2004). The physical context shows that homelessness is experienced differently in particular settings (Moore, 2004).

2.5. Home and homelessness

The definitions of homelessness are relative; meanings shift over time and depend on whose ideology, standard and criteria are accepted (Walter et al., 2015). Homelessness definitions also relate to the features of the world, such as social status, tenure, and domestic relationships (Somerville, 2013). Therefore, homeless people tend to adopt normative constructions of homelessness, to the extent that those who are homeless and living in hostels or shelters often do not define themselves as such (Walter et al., 2015). This could be due to the image of homelessness or stigma attached to people who are living outside (Walter et al., 2015). The image of homelessness is more concerned about the physical and lifestyle features of the people living on the street, such as sleeping in the open or lacking privacy. These are less concerned with the disaffiliation and marginalisation of the individual

(Desjarlais, 1996). This, therefore, points to different variations, such as shelter users, shack dwellers, and street homeless people (Cross et al., 2010).

The variations of street homelessness seem to be more peculiar and contain the tension between movement and rest; rootlessness and rootedness; nomadism and sedentariness, which have their origins in Greek mythology (Moore, 2007). Casey (1993) states that in Greek mythology there are two Gods; Hestia the goddess of the hearth, who brings harmony into the dwelling and accepts as true dwelling-as-residing, and Hermes, the god of thieves, who conceives dwelling-as-wandering (Casey, 1993). Dwelling as residing as well as wandering is therefore the root of the conflict between mobility and permanence that the house seems to symbolise and objectify (Moore, 2007). The opposition between being rooted and being rootless has been examined by phenomenologists (Moore, 2007). Being rooted is associated with the centre, home, and at home, while being rootless is associated with the horizon, travelling, unfamiliarity, and journey (Moore, 2007). From this phenomenological perspective, a person's life can be viewed through the dialectic of movement and rest, inside and outside, and dwelling and journeying (Moore, 2007). In this stance, individuals are in the process of moving in and out of the home throughout their lives (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). Even when individuals are settled, they are at the same time struggling with being out-of-home (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). This phenomenological perspective reveals that our relationship with all places is experienced in terms of the dialectics of inside-ness and outside-ness; hence it is possible to feel inside in non-home places and outside at home (Manzo, 2003).

Being at home signifies the attachment to a place, an affective, cognitive, and behavioural bond between a person and a place (Manzo, 2003). Being street homeless could reflect undermining and devaluing the deep relationship a person can have with places (Manzo, 2003). On the other hand, it is possible to experience a strong sense of place, attachment, and bonds while living on the streets. In support of this, people living on the streets do experience some freedom (Somerville, 2013). There

are, however, sometimes political underpinnings to places; for example, the “mobile” in society are rich and powerful and the poor are often restricted through spatial and economic controls (Moore, 2007). Therefore, street homelessness can reflect an emerging understanding that a simple opposition of movement and rest is insufficient to explain contemporary meanings and experiences (Moore, 2007).

Homelessness is often presented in material and physical terms, such as rooflessness, while a home is considered an emotive term (Moore 2007). It is therefore easy to be drawn into the concrete physical condition of homelessness while paying less attention to the shades of grey in the experiences of homelessness (Moore, 2007). Homelessness could be more about both negative and positive configurations of relations with places. These configurations thus make the experience of home and homelessness both subjective. Home is frequently introduced emphatically, in ideal terms, and homelessness is perpetually situated centrally as a hazier reality (Manzo, 2003). This is despite the fact that women are more likely to be assaulted at home than in any other place (Somerville, 2013), thus making home a contradictory notion for some homeless people (Somerville, 2013). Despite being at home, on a deeply personal level, people’s relationships with places are products of a larger political social, and economic reality (Manzo, 2003). Thoughts of home and homelessness are social and will in general be activated by singular encounters. The ideal home can act as a form of social control, while on the other hand, it can act as a form of social exclusion for some people (Manzo, 2003). Therefore, homelessness, more especially street homelessness, could be constitutive of people who dare to be different, and who resist conforming to idealised notions of being at home (Manzo, 2003) to challenge the dominant social norms in context. Being at home means that people have some degree of control over their territory and personal space (Moore, 2007). However, this is underpinned by social and political values concerning the value of a home (Moore, 2007). These values in turn become powerful social and political pulls towards home, wherein, if one can control

just a small part of the world, one is deemed to have achieved something worthwhile. Homelessness could therefore be the opposite of what most people in society want and expect, hence there seems to be a societal discomfort with homelessness since homelessness keeps a category reserved for those who do not conform (Moore, 2007). Therefore, the home and homeless dichotomy uphold an insider-outsider division that is part of the human experience (Moore, 2007).

Another extremely prevalent issue is the myth that homeless people need to be housed to belong. Increasing evidence towards homemaking as a route to social inclusion has become extremely powerful and is supported by the housing first model (Moore, 2007). However, there is a flaw in this understanding, where being at home is seen as being included and homelessness as an exclusion, thus positioning homelessness as a problem to which home is the answer (Somerville, 2013). There are those for whom homelessness may be an answer to a difficult home situation, such as women experiencing domestic violence (Somerville, 2013). Therefore, being at home is not always an inclusion and homelessness is not always an exclusion.

Furthermore, what is interesting about homelessness is not what is being said, but rather what is presumed to be absent. It is important to understand homelessness as a way of being in the world (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). People keep focusing on what homelessness is, rather than on what it is not (Moore, 2007). There is a tendency to understand homeless people in the context of what they have, not what they lack. Olufemi (2002) posits that negative connotations of homeless people act as a barrier to understanding homelessness. Therefore, it is important to contextualise what is known about homeless people. It is possible to be homeless and be at home at the same time, as a home has more to do with a perspective and with a passionate commitment than it has to do with a fixed place (Moore, 2007). Home is a lived experience of place; being at home involves the immersion of a self in a locality (Somerville, 2013). Homeless people are actively engaged in this process too, in that they are trying hard to make sense of their circumstances and follow rational and appropriate choices.

Homeless people display active agencies and want to escape homelessness, including the one experienced while being at home. Even though people may be without a roof, it can be argued that home is never wholly absent. According to Heidegger (1927, 2011), dwelling identifies the essential elements of what it means to be a human being living in the world, and that people are all in the process of homecoming. Rootedness therefore could define a broader sense of belonging, a symbolic position in the world that can be experienced whether in or out of the home. Therefore, what is important is not necessarily the assumed comforts and security with which home is associated, but rather the varied qualities valued by groups at a particular time and space (Moore, 2007). These qualities range from comfort, independence, safety, social life, and affordability (Moore, 2007). For example, the homeless people who live in hostels sometimes positively evaluate the security and the comfort they feel in these forms of residence, but they might not have much independence and control. Those who live on the street might value their sense of control and independence, despite the obvious lack of physical home qualities. Instead, people would emphasise a sense of pride in their way of surviving, social contact, sharing resources, and social care. Therefore, to understand the homeless experience, it is necessary to accept that people find ways of coping that demand respect (Somerville, 2013). These coping mechanisms may not be obvious to outsiders, but during the social and physical structure of daily life, for many people sleeping rough can reflect their dignity and ingenuity (Somerville, 2013). Perhaps it is our discomfort rather than that of homeless people that has led to a focus on the absences in this experience, rather than what is present (Moore, 2007). Often the qualities of the homeless experience are overlooked in the rush to draw the homeless back into conventional models of temporary accommodation. This diminishes the value of homeless people and sets aside their agency in favour of a set of steps back to the stereotypical home, to the extent that homeless people are harshly penalised for avoiding traditional family life and are coerced into adopting societal models of belonging (Somerville, 2013). It is not clear why homeless people cannot

be helped wherever they are, in physical and personal terms, in developing skills instead of being confined to shelters.

2.6. Government responses to street homelessness

There are varying responses to homelessness and the street homeless. Such responses depend on the government's willingness to assist with the problem of homelessness (Hoch, 2000). Responses to homelessness are influenced by political and economic power instead of an emphatic response to deprivation (Tipple & Speak, 2003). How homelessness is defined has clear political, economic, and social implications (Walter et al., 2015). As a tool of enumeration and social policy, a broad definition leads to more people being identified as homeless (Walter et al., 2015). This broad definition supports the position and agendas of those who advocate that the needs of homeless people must be recognised and addressed (Walter et al., 2015). Conversely, narrow definitions of homelessness lead to responses that centre on extreme forms of homelessness and thus limit the allocation of resources given to the broader group of homeless people (Walter et al., 2015).

Although some governments seem willing to eliminate the problem through the provision of shack lands, funding civil society programmes, and administering statistical counts, such strategies accentuate the lack of housing as impacting on street-homelessness (Cross & Seager, 2010). People who are homeless in South Africa are placed under the broader umbrella term of homelessness as a lack of shelter, to the extent that lack of shelter has been designed to encompass the above-mentioned categories of homelessness found in the South African context. Therefore, the government's response to homelessness is to provide shelter. But then again, the shelters that governments provide are in the peripheries of society (Cross & Seager, 2010). Consequently, the distance of these government shelters from society forces people to remain on the streets. Nevertheless, the government continues

to provide shelter as a way of addressing street-homelessness, regardless of the limitation of the shelters provided by the government.

It is not only the South African government that adheres rigidly to the provision of shelter as a response to homelessness. For example, in Peru, land rights are denied to those who live on the streets to an extent that, in their official definition of homelessness, people who live in dilapidated buildings are excluded from the land registration policy designed for the homeless (Tipple & Speak, 2003). This pattern is also evident in the People's Republic of China, which has a tight welfare policy system. The People's Republic of China cancels any entitlements to housing subsidy, schooling, and social grants as soon as individuals move outside the housing registration system (Tipple & Speak, 2003). This behaviour shows that if governments adopt the provision of housing structures to address homelessness, they understand marginality only when it is assigned to a housing structure. However, although street homeless people are without shelter, it does not mean they aspire to be housed in marginalised areas without any form of livelihood (Jindra, 2014). For this reason, the government needs to find ways to respond appropriately to the needs of this population group. From this, it is evident that the government's understanding of the experiences and responses to shelters is misguided.

Understandably, the government's response to street-homelessness could be focused on past discrimination and neglect regarding shelter and social services (Davenport & Hunt, 1974). However, it is worth noting that the national government does not deal directly with street-homelessness but does respond through a variety of legislative interventions to the social and economic needs of the poor, for example, South Africa's National Action Plan for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (Naidoo, 2010). This arrangement covers the unique requirements of the destitute, acquired racial differences in access and quality of shelter, aberrations among provincial and metropolitan inhabitants, and the excesses in moving individuals from shacks to formal housing (Naidoo, 2010, p.

30). Legal reference with regards to the street-homeless is found in Section 26 of the Bill of Rights, which recognises the right to have access to adequate housing (Naidoo, 2010). It also responds financially by funding civil society programmes that provide temporary shelter, such as non-governmental organisation (NGOs) to refurbish existing buildings in urban areas to be used for accommodation (Naidoo, 2010). However, this category of response or strategy frames the response to address street homelessness as a lack of shelter (Tipple & Speak, 2003).

Aliber (2002) found that the people who were sleeping outside the HSRC Building in Pretoria were not necessarily removed from society but functioned as part of social structures in informal settlements. These people were looking for work but had 'homes' in the informal settlement areas. However, due to the lack of funds required to commute daily to the city centres, they decided to sleep on the streets. Although shelters are provided by the South African government, they are not adequate in that they are situated in the peripheries of the city without any way for the people to sustain their livelihood. These occurrences indicate that government strategies concerning homelessness perpetuate street homelessness. Alternative government responses to homelessness can be seen in countries like the USA, Australia, UK, and other European countries.

In the USA, the homelessness legislation is known as the McKinney-Vento Homeless Education Assistance Improvements Act of 2001, which dates to 1987 and has been modified until the present (Kriel, 2017). It has been amended to include 'homeless children' in its definition of 'homelessness', 'homeless people', and 'homeless person' (Kriel, 2017, p. 403). The Act is aligned with the US 'continuum of care' model, which addresses homelessness through access to education so that people can have access to employment, which will in turn facilitate people's independence and the ability to afford their accommodation (Kriel, 2017). Furthermore, the 'continuum of care' model is supported by the Federal government's Supportive Housing Programme in the provision of emergency shelter, transitional housing, and permanent supportive housing (Hoch, 2000). Nonetheless, the USA focuses

on people who are already homeless, rather than on preventing homelessness (Kreil, 2017). This can be related to the fact that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) interprets homelessness narrowly, as has been explained above. In America, not all street-homeless people use night shelters, as they prefer self-built shelters on the streets, but the government removes these (Cross et al., 2010). Therefore, in the USA, the role of the state is minimized by emphasising individual responsibility, rather than state provision of housing. The focus on individual responsibilities characterises homeless people as 'problematic other' based on what they lack (Parsell, 2011), thus representing them as a category that embodies homogeneity, inferiority, and dysfunction (Thomas, Gray, & McGinty, 2012). The National Law Centre on Homelessness and Poverty (NLCHP) reports that many cities in the US implement panhandling laws and remove homeless people sleeping in public spaces (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). This practice is prevalent in cities with shortages of emergency shelters and affordable housing (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Nonetheless, the National Alliance to End Homelessness (NAEH), a non-profit organisation, continues to engage with public and private sectors. These public and private sector initiatives implemented the following programmes in a joint effort to end homelessness: The National Centre on Family Homelessness (NCFH); NLCHP; National Health Care for the Homeless Council (NHCHC); Home Aid America, and Homebase and Homes for the Homeless (Kriel, 2017). The NAEH encourages four proactive steps to be taken in these programmes to combat homelessness: firstly, identification of needs; secondly, closing the front door by shifting incentives towards prevention; thirdly, opening the back door to help people exit homelessness quickly; and fourthly, building infrastructure (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007, p. 11).

In Australia, responses to homelessness are established through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP), Act of 1994 (Kriel, 2017). The SAAP aims to ensure that homeless people's rights are protected and are given opportunities to redress their circumstances (Kriel, 2017).

However, SAAP does not promote rights to adequate housing; housing is driven by the private sector. Instead, the National Strategy for Homeless (NSH) in Australia consists of several separate initiatives such as Crisis Payment and Special Benefits; Towards Independent Living Allowance; Partnership Against Domestic Violence, and Child Abuse Prevention. Furthermore, there is a programme called A Place to Call Home that aims to provide permanent housing for people who are living in emergency shelters (Kriel, 2017). In July 2015, a new National Partnership Agreement on Homelessness (NPAH) was introduced by the Australian government (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The agreement funds frontline homelessness services focusing on women and children experiencing domestic and family violence, as well as homeless youth.

Australia's definition of homelessness is evidence-based and considers homeless pathways, age, and cultural background of homeless people (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2012) developed a broad definition of homelessness, which includes individuals living in inadequate shelters, unstable tenure, and people who lack private space (Walter et al., 2015). Therefore, Australia's definition of homelessness is consistent with that of the European Union (Edgar, Harrison, Watson, & Busch-Geertsema, 2007). Furthermore, SAAP and National Data Collection (NDC) in Australia provide useful and reliable estimates of homeless people every five years (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The numbers include both service and non-service users. The provision of reliable estimates in Australia enables both government and NGOs to respond strategically to homelessness (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007).

The UK is the only European state with statutory responsibility and a 'task force' for homelessness (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007; Kriel, 2017). The Housing (Homeless Persons) Act of 1977 places specific responsibilities on local authorities to rehouse homeless families and single homeless people who are not intentionally homeless (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The UK Poverty and Social exclusion Survey (2012) confirmed that homelessness is concentrated among single young parents,

who are poor and renting, particularly black people living in urban areas of the country (Fitzpatrick, Bramley, Watts, Wilcox, & Watts, 2015). However, it is important to note that these black people present themselves to the agency to be assessed as homeless (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). There might be other groups of people who fear that they are not eligible for services and thus do not present themselves to the agencies. Therefore, other efforts to tackle homelessness, especially 'rough sleeping' have led to collaborations across governments to share information and resolve the issues faced by homeless people (Kriel, 2017, p. 405). Subsequently, new policies were enacted, such as the Rough Sleepers Unit, and Bed and Breakfast Unit (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). These policies are intended to reduce the number of families living in bed-and-breakfast accommodation and single persons 'sleeping rough' on the streets (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Nonetheless, the number of older people sleeping rough is said to be increasing, thus showing the problematic trend of targeting specific groups (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Other initiatives include family mediation, which is focused on young people who stay in the parental home, and those who are at risk of homelessness; sanctuary schemes for those at risk of domestic violence, and tenancy support for vulnerable groups (Kriel, 2017). Also noted are programmes designed to provide accommodation for people at risk of homelessness, such as No Second Night Out; Fulfilling Lives; and Platform for Life Fund (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). Furthermore, there is housing support for older and vulnerable people who are staying in park homes and caravans on privately owned land in which tenants pay a fee (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the UK's position on combating homelessness has been heavily criticised (Neale, 1997; Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The overall policy and programmes operate on the following criteria: firstly, people need to be accepted as homeless, secondly, be proven as not intentionally homeless, and lastly, they must have priority needs (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). The priority needs are determined by an assessment of an individual in comparison to others (Neale, 1997). It is not clear whether the use of intentionality and priority needs is not promoting discrimination (Neale,

1997; Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Those who are deemed to be unintentionally homeless are often considered to be in priority need. As a result, single homeless people avoid going to the local authority for fear that they will not be identified as having priority needs (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). On the other hand, the assessment criteria can result in dishonesty among homeless people around their housing situation (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Homeless people are judged and tested and found to be either deserving or undeserving of assistance (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Therefore, even though the UK seems to be operating on a broader spectrum of homelessness, many people who are homeless are excluded.

In Europe, there are a few strategic approaches to homelessness (Kriel, 2017; Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Homelessness is not considered as worthy of its policy responses; hence it is incorporated into both housing and social welfare policies (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007), to the extent that in some states, data on policies and strategies to combat homelessness is non-existent. Data about homeless people is found in legal documents, announcements, governmental and non-governmental organisations; it does not provide a clear picture of the homeless situation (Kriel, 2017). However, researchers have observed a correlation between responses to homelessness and the different types of European welfare governments (Busch-Geertsema, Edgar, O'Sullivan, & Pleace, 2010). Therefore, only a few with available data on homelessness will be discussed, such as social democratic governments (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway); corporatist governments (France, and Germany), and the Mediterranean governments (Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy) (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010).

Social democratic governments in Europe are known for their generous social welfare and employment benefits (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010). There is a strong emphasis on the reintegration of homeless people, captured under the concept of a 'staircase' of provision; the staircase places a priority on rental flats and homeownership at the top, and emergency shelters at the bottom (Busch-

Geertsema et al., 2015). These governments adopt the 'housing first' approach to the homeless, supported by private organisations, public institutions, and NGOs (Tsemberis, Gulcur, & Nakae, 2004). The focus is on the provision of housing and the associated services to the homeless and refugees (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the right to housing, although constitutional and legally founded, is not enforceable (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). Instead, legal, and institutional frameworks are used to assist the homeless with accommodation. The Social Assistance Act of 1976 and the Social Service Act of 2002 are more evident in Denmark (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). Municipalities are also encouraged to make housing arrangements for the homeless, such as temporary residences for people with a physical or mental disability, night centres offering cheap food and coffee, and special day centres for people with mental ailments or substance abuse (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). There is also a special type of housing, known as "skaeve huse" (when translated means crooked house), which offers an alternative form of permanent, independent housing for people with a history as 'problem tenants' or 'nuisance tenants' (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010). These are furnished with ablution facilities and consist of about 10 units (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015).

Corporatist governments in Europe view welfare as a mediator to assist people from being 'literally homeless' (Kriel, 2017). These regimes provide emergency shelter and phone-in emergency support services (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). The rights to benefits depend on active participation in the labour markets (Kriel, 2017). Establishing the Enforceable Right to Housing Act of 1977 replaced some of the European welfare's best effort' obligation, with performance obligation (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). The NSH and Poorly Housed People (PHP) became a government priority in 2009, thus adopting the 'housing first' approach to homelessness with the implementation of Integrated Receptions and Advice Service centres that monitor local needs and services (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). Likewise, in Germany, there is no right to permanent housing, but the Federal

Social Welfare Assistance Law obliges local authorities to support people with social difficulties and living circumstances (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2015). Homeless people with no income have a right to financial assistance for subsistence costs, such as temporary accommodation. More importantly, social services are delivered by municipalities and NGOs under a public contract.

The view that homelessness is due to housing shortages is entrenched in many policies and strategies in Europe as seen in the 'housing first' approaches adopted (Kriel, 2017). This shows that homelessness is defined narrowly, as these approaches are underpinned by the visibility of homeless people who are assumed to be lacking shelter. Secondly, the fact that several countries have a national agency responsible for housing but none for homelessness, shows that homelessness is treated as an absence of suitable housing, on the fringe of housing and policy consideration (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Responses through legislation and policies vary enormously across European countries. Responses that acknowledge that homelessness is more than just a shelter or being houseless are more effective (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007). Better programmes link the provision of shelter with social support, while at the same time dealing with both social, structural, and individual causes of homelessness (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007).

2.7. Different ideas about street homelessness

Notwithstanding the South African government's inability to address street homeless people, the presence of street homelessness cannot be ignored. A better understanding of street homelessness may reveal how social, economic, and political resources are distributed in a particular context. For this reason, various views on the factors impacting street homelessness will be discussed in this section.

2.7.1. Individualistic view

The individualistic view is a 'victim-blaming' ideology of street-homelessness. It emphasises individual problems rather than considering other factors that contribute to street homelessness. Bar and Caplow (1974) interpret homelessness as a psycho-social problem defined by levels of attachment to the family system. This conceptualisation presumes street homelessness to be marked by attenuated bonds between a person and his/her family system, followed by a loss of position in society (as cited in Lee et al., 2010). Although this definition has been contested by Shly and Rosi (1992), when looking at how governments globally relegate street-homelessness as a societal problem, it inadvertently adopts this view. For example, the national government does not deal with street homelessness directly but rather assigns it to civil society, thus making it a psycho-social problem (Cross & Seager, 2010). This deflection of street homelessness as a societal problem could be a way of covering up the discrepancies in government policy (Belcher & DeForge, 2012). For example, in a country where resources are more privately owned, street homelessness can be due to unequal distribution of resources but diverting attention to individual problems will justify the inequities. Therefore, victim-blaming is evident in the government and citizens' way of dealing with street homelessness, which covertly adopts the individualistic perspective.

Governments who adopt individualistic views forget that people are street homeless due to a variety of factors. These can include both macro and micro level antecedents (Seager, & Tamasane, 2010). Micro-level antecedents refer to individual negative past experiences and macro-level antecedents refer to negative past histories in a society (Seager, & Tamasane, 2010). Therefore, many factors can predispose one to become street homeless. These can include exposure to sexual and/or physical abuse, neglect, family disintegration, unaffordability of rent, unemployment, lack of skills, partial education or none, and poverty (Olufemi, 2000; Seager, & Tamasane, 2010).

Additionally, in South Africa, street homelessness can be due to colonial practices that discriminated against Black population groups and deprived them of opportunities through land dispossession and discipline strategies (Anderson & Collins, 2014). For this reason, street homelessness cannot be fully understood without looking into these colonial practices. For example, the "chronic African" housing crisis, and the associated proliferation of sub-letting and squatting that are the trademark of major cities in South Africa, have their roots in the apartheid policy of restricting African participation in expanding the economy in its major cities (Olufemi, 1998). This situation of discriminating against homeless people is not peculiar to certain countries in the world, but rather it is a worldwide problem (Hendricks et al., 2015). Studies show that homelessness is an issue that affects both developing countries and nations with advanced economies (Hendricks et al., 2015). It is almost impossible to come up with the exact number of homeless people in the world since the concept of homelessness is viewed differently by many countries all over the world. The default to the individualistic perspective could be related to the fact that homelessness is experienced by some people, but also imagined by others (Somerville, 2013). People who are living outside, in public spaces, derelict buildings, and/ or in places not intended for human habitation, experience homelessness directly (Cross et al., 2010). On the other hand, homelessness is imagined by politicians, policymakers, academics, and the general public (Somerville, 2013). These imaginings form the basis on which homelessness is understood globally.

Historically, there have been three main types of popular explanations of homelessness (Somerville, 2013). These are summarised by Gawen (2010) as "sin talk", "sick talk" and "system talk". Up until the 1960s, "sin talk" dominated, in that homeless people were culpable for their situation and irresponsibility (Gawen, 2010). Subsequently, this idea influenced the legal positions of the squatters and other homeless people, particularly the street homeless (Global Urban Research Unit, n.d.). Street homeless people were often removed from the streets because they were perceived as a nuisance

and/or they disturbed the attractiveness of the city (Global Urban Research Unit, n.d.). Therefore, "sin talk" seems to underpin the long-standing assumption that views homelessness as a personal choice (Parsell & Parsell, 2012).

2.7.1.1. Homelessness as a choice

Several studies show that the idea of homelessness as a personal choice is a widely held perception (Snow & Anderson, 1993; see also Blackman, 1998; Pleace, 1998; Jones, 1997; Wright, 1989). This perception is often embedded in debates about problematic pathologies, individual responsibility, and deviancy (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). The view that homelessness is due to personal choice results in coercive policies that criminalise homeless people (Parsell & Paersell, 2012). Homeless people in Cape Town are criminalised due to their willingness to stay on the streets instead of using shelters (Cross et al., 2010). To be homeless is unconventional, therefore criminalisation strategies are implemented to change the so-called deviant choices homeless people make. Besides the notion of deviance, the choice also informs the liberal "romanticised" idea of living the free homeless lifestyle unshackled by cultural and social norms (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). The idea that people deliberately move to the streets can be true, however, it is rare to find an explanation of what choosing homelessness means. Moreover, choices often depend on available alternatives. As seen in South Africa, the current shelter provisions force the street homeless to choose between being sheltered and the sustainability of their livelihoods (Cross et al., 2010). There is a tremendous amount of research that reveals that the street homeless prefer sleeping outside rather than using homeless accommodations (Ravenhill, 2008). Therefore, street homelessness is a choice in that it is an assertion that one decides to take control of their situation instead of being a passive victim.

According to Jordan (1994), people who are homeless choose unconventionally and thus defeat themselves, and they choose rationally but their choice is perceived as immoral. In the latter, homelessness is seen as a rebellion against, or at least testing, the parameters of society. Similarly,

CASP (2000) in Cape Town identifies a category of resisting street homeless people who reject civil society programmes (Cross et al., 2010). As a result, the City of Cape Town's administrative stance has been hostile and relies on police clearances to deal with the resistant sector of the street homeless (Paasche et al., 2013). Barak (1991) and Kusmar (2002) add that the "hobo" was constructed as having achieved independence, political freedom, and rugged individualism. More recently, Wasserman and Clair (2010) refer to life on the streets as a space not only of adventure, "but of a life of self-reflection and personal freedom" (p. 24). This view can be due to the representation of homeless people, forming harmonious and supportive homeless communities, and feeling at home on the streets. Ravenhill (2008) also highlighted a strong collective orientation, intense friendships, and reciprocal care among people experiencing homelessness, not prevalent in broader society. Coleman (2002) in her Australian research references a "homeless community" and suggests that her participants experienced the inner urban streets and parks as their home. Therefore, notions of lifestyle and personal freedom could be understood as supportive of the claim that homelessness is a personal choice (Parsell & Parsell, 2012).

Nevertheless, the notions of lifestyle and personal choice could be limited to those who have not experienced homelessness or have no direct or meaningful contact with homeless people, because assumptions of lifestyle and personal choice hide the problematic experience of homelessness (Snow & Anderson, 1993). People who are street homeless can see the public spaces where they reside as home, because of their connections with specific places and a sense of wellbeing and belonging associated with those spaces (Mallett, 2004). Indeed, positioning the homeless as 'at home' on the streets is at least consistent with a rational choice to be homeless. Homeless people wilfully decide to sleep on the streets rather than reside in homeless accommodation (Ravenhill, 2008). However, it does not mean people enjoy sleeping on the streets or freely choose to (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). Instead, sleeping on the streets or in self-built shelters could be less undesirable than the more

undesirable homeless accommodations (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). In Australia, street homeless individuals are also critical of the homeless shelters, their costs, rules, exclusions, and authoritarian manner (Hwang & Burns, 2014). In Cape Town, people who use the TRAs camps complain about the distance of these structures from business core zones, where their livelihoods can be maintained (Cirolia, 2014; Cross et al., 2010). Rarely has homelessness as a decision been considered inside a more extensive setting, where all decisions are a cycle of nullification and are intervened by the accessible alternatives. Instead, homelessness has been presented as a choice in ways that stretch beyond the inadequacy or undesirability of homeless accommodations (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). Nonetheless, the idea of homelessness as a personal choice has dominated homeless literature since the 1960s, and it can be argued that this view still exists in most societies worldwide (Somerville, 2013). Furthermore, the idea that the street-homeless are free and unshackled by the cultural and social norms of mainstream society is not true. Nonetheless other studies have gone further to express that homelessness is a cultural problem (Somerville, 2013).

2.7.1.2. Homelessness as a cultural phenomenon

Studies that view homelessness as a cultural problem date back to the ethnographic studies of Skid[5] Row in the USA (Somerville, 2013). Being submerged into the Skid Row culture was characterised by an incipient phase that dislocated an individual from the mainstream culture (Snow & Anderson, 2003). This was then followed by isolation, desocialization, and rootlessness (Snow & Anderson, 2003). Thereafter, assimilation and participation followed, which included belonging to the Skid Row community (Snow & Anderson, 2003). A clear pathway into homelessness can be identified, for example being disconnected from the basic network of society into Skid Row communities (Somerville, 2013) as well as a multidimensional character of homelessness, that is, being isolated,

[5] Skid Row, also known as "hobohemian" is a term used to define casual laborers who used single rooms or boarding hotels in America (Shlay & Rossi, 1992, p. 131).

dissocialised, and rootless from the mainstream culture. This cultural perspective seems to mark relationships as a significant contributor to homelessness. It goes further to emphasise that these relationships maintain homelessness (Ravenhill, 2008). Even though the relationships could be supportive and threatening; risky and reassuring; uplifting and depressing; oppressive and liberating, they can bring both joy and misery (Somerville, 2013). Relationships can tumble from one condition to the other but both conditions exist within the same relationship (Somerville, 2013). It is not clear whether the absence of these relationships within the mainstream culture is what drove people into the Skid Row communities.

Nonetheless, homeless communities cannot exist completely independent of mainstream culture. They are still linked by what Ravenhill (2008) calls a homeless industry, defined as the links that connect homeless communities with governmental and voluntary sector organisations, campaigners, churches and charities, academics, and research institutions (Ravenhill, 2008). These can thus be part of the homeless subculture, as they provide basic services, which help to make homeless communities more stable and unified (Somerville, 2013). Although the homeless industry tends to cater to basic needs, it expects members of the homeless communities to follow rules that those in mainstream society do not have to follow (Ravenhill, 2008). For example, in the homeless centres provided by government departments and voluntary organisations, individuals are not allowed to smoke, drink alcohol, and sleep together as couples (Somerville, 2013). Therefore, the homeless industry is inside as well as outside the homeless culture, reinforcing that culture while at the same time being dedicated to its destruction (Somerville, 2013). It sustains homelessness, but also helps people to exit homelessness. From this perspective, an individual is thus either acculturated into mainstream society or the homeless culture. To become homeless therefore is a cultural rather than a structural problem, as everyone learns how to become homeless. Ravenhill (2008) found that individuals experience culture shock as they try to cope with sleeping rough, disengaging from the mainstream society, and

learning to fit in. These include being taught to use heroin, petty crimes, prostitution, and other risky behaviours (Ravenhill, 2008). Pathways out of homelessness from this cultural perspective are seen to be extremely difficult as individuals acclimatise to rootlessness (Ravenhill, 2008). The more people survive living outside, the more difficult it becomes to exit, due to the strength and intensity of the networks and relationships they form (Ravenhill, 2008). Therefore, simplistic intervention such as housing first, employment first and treatment first do not work because they do not capture the reality and experiences of being homeless (Ravenhill, 2008). Perhaps these simplistic interventions only work when all the dimensions of homelessness are considered.

To see homelessness as a cultural phenomenon seems to provide a more substantive explanation of the pathways that people follow through homelessness. It acknowledges that an individual's journey is unique, even though common themes do appear in the processes of moving out of the mainstream culture into homeless communities. However, it seems to lack an understanding of how homelessness is produced, in other words, what makes people move out of mainstream society into homeless communities. It does highlight the nature of relationships that keep people in their state of homelessness but implies that these do not exist in the mainstream culture. However, the cultural approach still expects people to exit homeless communities, while it identifies these relationships as being more supportive than those found in mainstream society. Therefore, homelessness as a cultural phenomenon is limited, as it does not accept homelessness as a way of being in the world. It blames individuals for choosing a way of life that is different from that of mainstream society. However, from the 1960s up to the 1980s, "system talk" has become more pronounced. People advocate for structural factors, such as May (2000), who postulate that the plight of homeless people needs to be attributed to structural factors, such as a lack of jobs that pay a living wage and a lack of decent, affordable housing.

2.7.2. Structural view of homelessness

May (2000) posits that homelessness can be explained in terms of a combination of structural factors and individual vulnerabilities. Structural conditions impact vulnerable groups more severely. According to May (2000), vulnerable groups are often structurally disadvantaged, and further vulnerabilities in these groups could render a person ill-equipped to cope with structural changes. Structural factors could therefore create conditions within which homelessness occurs among vulnerable population groups. Individual vulnerabilities could determine the likelihood of becoming homeless in these conditions (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000; Pleace, 2010). According to Jones and Pleace (2010) the more someone is exposed to structural factors, the greater the risk that they will become homeless, to the extent that those experiencing structural factors are said to be "at heightened risk" of becoming homeless (Jones & Pleace, 2010). The most universal risk factor identified is poverty, as people who are not poor can easily avoid homelessness even if they experience a personal crisis (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). These individual vulnerabilities are summarised under homeless pathways, and this helps to make sense of how structural problems contribute to people becoming homeless.

2.7.2.1. Homeless pathways

Martijn and Sharpe (2006) note that there is a high frequency of trauma experiences among homeless people, which can be a significant contributor to homelessness. Trauma in this instance is defined in clinical terms, as what is measured by the criterion A of the post-traumatic stress disorder diagnostic criteria in DSM-IV (a standard questionnaire used in clinical trials) (Martijn & Sharpe, 2006). Psychological disorders identified were drugs and alcohol problems; family problems; and involvement in crimes (Martijn & Sharpe, 2006). If any of these factors occurred before the first episode of homelessness, they were deemed to be a significant contributor to homelessness (Martijn & Sharpe, 2006). However, other authors criticised these findings, in that clusters of factors relating

to homelessness cannot be translated as pathways to homelessness and there is an insufficient explanation about how they lead an individual to homelessness (Somerville, 2013; Ravenhill, 2008).

Besides trauma and psychological disorders, a few studies express the view that homelessness is to be understood primarily as an event, or sequence of events, that a person follows through in a housing system (Clapham, 2003). Therefore, a homeless pathway is a pattern of interactions concerning a house and a home, over time and space - the life story of an individual or a household (Clapham, 2003). This understanding has tried to identify discrete pathways through homelessness by examining key characteristics, such as gender, age, race, household type, and life experience (Somerville, 2013). Homeless pathways are related to this study in that homelessness in South Africa cannot be addressed through single-focused initiatives, such as the provision of shelter. There are many other pushing factors as revealed by the under-utilisation of the provided shelters by the street-homeless (Cross et al., 2010). More recently, age has been identified as a key characteristic affecting different pathways through homelessness. Besides age, gender was also found to be a prominent variable (Somerville, 2013). Age and gender do not reveal anything about the lack of shelter but can point towards people's need for autonomy and responsibility. The three types of homelessness as differentiated by age are, firstly, youth pathways, which look at ages between 15 and 24 years; secondly, adult pathways that identify ages between 20 and 50 years, and thirdly, late-life pathways, which are ages from 50 years and above (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000). Each pathway is associated with a specific set of "risk factors", for example, youths' pathways are associated with being in local authority care, suffering violence and/or abuse, moving home frequently as a child, and being excluded (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000). Adult pathways are associated with relationship breakdowns, changes in family size, mortgage, and rent arrears (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000). Lastly, late adulthood pathways are associated with a midlife crisis, loss of parents on whom one depended, widowhood, marital

breakdown, and mental illness (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000). All these pathways point to people's experiences of a home rather than a lack of shelter.

According to May (2000), if homelessness is due to a specific event, then time should be the key analytical category. Time reveals that people are homeless for different periods of their lives. According to May (2000), this constitutes both the duration and frequency of homeless episodes, such as long-term homelessness, episodic homelessness, and first-time homelessness. These variations reveal that homelessness can be experienced for a short time as well as for longer periods. Again, this corresponds with the findings of du Toit (2010) and CASP (2000), that among the street homeless in South Africa, some are homeless for longer periods and others are temporary overnight sleepers. According to May (2000) people who are experiencing homelessness for longer periods are classified under chronic homelessness. This shows that homeless pathways also have more to do with continued homelessness than with pathways in and out of homelessness (Somerville, 2013).

Pathways out of homelessness seem to reveal more reasons why people continue being homeless or exit homelessness. According to May (2000) the longer a person is homeless, the harder it is to exit homelessness. However, this seems to point more to men than women. Women are found to exit homelessness more quickly than men, as they are more likely to be accepted as statutory homeless if they are accompanied by children (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). The Children's Act 38 of 2005 in South Africa elaborates on section 28 of the Constitution by making explicit reference to children as a distinct population group in vulnerable social and economic situations such as street homelessness (Naidoo, 2010). Therefore, in seeking to protect children, the Act accepts that the capacity for parents and caregivers to provide for the emotional, intellectual, and other needs of the child will influence decisions about how they can be appropriately cared for (section 7(1)(c)) (Naidoo, 2010). Therefore, it is women with children who leave homelessness quicker than men; but single women or women who leave their children behind have not been studied in South Africa. Also, it has been found that

facilitators or enabling factors to exit homelessness are related to housing availability, family support, and availability of resources (Mayock, Corr, & O' Sullivan, 2008). Barriers to exit homelessness were related to adaptation to life on the streets (Mayock et al., 2008). Homeless pathways seem to imply that being housed or being under a formal institution is an exit out of homelessness yet being housed or being in a formal institution is not always appropriate. For example, returning someone to the same house where they were abused cannot be an exit out of homelessness. Therefore, homeless pathways conceptualise homelessness as a lack of shelter. It can be argued that people who move into institutional housing such as shelters have not left homelessness as they are dependent on the existence of such an institution, and not on their capacity. Therefore, to coerce people to use shelters as is evident in Cape Town, cannot be an appropriate response towards people who are street-homeless (Cross et al., 2010). Mayock et al (2008) also recognise that service-intensive interventions such as transitional housing can be a form of therapeutic incarceration. Being accommodated in an institution does not facilitate independent living, but rather institutionalisation, secondary adaptation, and stigmatisation (Ravenhill, 2008). Therefore, pathways in and out of homelessness have been heavily critiqued. This understanding that sees homelessness as being due to structural factors is not limited to international research. Research in South Africa, although it tends to focus more on policy development for the street homeless, (Kriel, 2017), is underpinned by the belief that homelessness is due to structural factors.

The structural view is also concerned with how the resources in a society are distributed. The resources here could refer to the social arrangement of South African society. This could include the issuing of land for shacks in dumping places, unemployment, and lack of cheap accommodation near business core zones (Olufemi, 1998). The lack of housing definition draws on this view with its emphasis on the lack of shelter. However, how resources are distributed may render most people in a society street homeless (Lee et al., 2010). For example, In South Africa, 53% of street-homeless

individuals left their homes due to employment factors such as job search, retrenchment, dismissal, and income short-falls; 47% left their homes due to family factors such as deaths, divorce, and disputes in the family (du Toit, 2010). Therefore, street-homelessness can reflect the social divide and the ramifications of land dispossession of the post-colonial era in South Africa (Tshitereke, 2009). This social divide has become more evident in the policing and territorial control of urban spaces in Cape Town (Paarsche et al., 2012). Understandably, the territory is important in the spatial layout of the contemporary cities (Storey, 2012), but at the same time, a territory can covertly become a political technology, as it is comprised of techniques for measuring land and control of terrain (Elden, 2010). The fragmentation of urban spaces by different and competing urban managers reflects the efforts to define and establish territories according to neoliberal forms of governance and capital accumulation (Ward, 2011). The use of policing in Cape Town represents an important technique to achieve these goals that, in turn, allow broader reconfigurations of socio-spatial power (Paasche et al., 2012).

Spaces are policed using the normative ordering of practices, rules, and actions based around routinised values (Paasche et al., 2012). These ordering practices in Cape Town delimit and assert control over certain geographic areas. This is done by erecting real and symbolic barriers that exclude people and activities that do not conform to the assigned purposes of the spaces (Paasche et al., 2012). This kind of territorialisation has become evident in South Africa, more especially in urban Cape Town (Paasche et al., 2012). In Cape Town, there is an increase in private security directed at securing bounded spaces (Jensen, 2010). This is achieved through the Cape Town City's Improvement District introduced in 1993 (Paasche et al., 2012). City Improvement District (CID) is a North American concept coined by formal business associates and property owners who assume collective responsibility for managing prescribed urban areas (Didier, Peyroux, & Morange, 2012). The City of Cape Town's decision-makers believe that since the end of apartheid, crime rates have escalated,

while police resources have declined, and this has hindered Cape Town's commercial development to racial territories (Paasche et al., 2012).

Due to this decline, the City of Cape Town has adopted this North American concept, CID (Paasche et al., 2012). Yet, securing bounded spaces produces disjuncture, fragmentation, and complex territorialisation of state and commercial power (Paasche et al., 2012). It further reconfigures the relationship between the state, territory, and police, and commercial powers that were associated with apartheid statecraft (Paasche et al., 2012). During the apartheid era, urban spaces were racially coded especially in non-white territories, and policing was largely about maintaining this segregation (Brewer, 1994). Although the territorialisation of urban spaces has changed nowadays, wealth, rather than race, has become the focus of private policing, inevitably contributing to a spatial division of white and wealthier citizens from the poorer, non-white majority (Paasche et al., 2012). The street-homeless are drawn towards these territories, most probably because of the assumed availability of economic opportunities (du Toit, 2010). Therefore, CID sees to it that certain people are shifted out and crime is pushed beyond the privately policed territory, and ultimately towards the peripheries of the city (Paasche et al., 2012).

While the government police are responsible for the city, these private security companies, employed through the CID, see the territory as a specific container in which they assert their power (Paasche et al., 2012). The private security companies have little concern as to what happens outside the boundaries of their spaces, even when the crime is just a few inches away. The primary mode of the security's operation is to expel threatening objects and people from their territory. Nonetheless, there is an invisible line that marks the boundary of a CID, and it distinguishes between private and public space within it (Paasche et al., 2012). This invisible boundary seems to envelop the private space of every shop entrance, every café with outside seating, and it intersects private property and divides every side street that is not part of CID from the public spaces (Paasche et al., 2012). Despite the fact

that it is not set apart on the ground, it is tangible for security officials and those subject to their look (Paasche et al., 2012). On the operational level, the main purpose is to deal with unwelcome people who might negatively impact the commerce within the CID and disrupt the desired secure atmosphere of certain spaces. This ranges from the management of physical space of the street, such as tables and chairs of café's, stand-up displays, and registered traders whose merchandise is outside the designated spaces (Paasche et al., 2012). However, the biggest challenge for the security officers is street homeless people who challenge the hegemony of consumption in the CIDs. The street-homeless proliferate in spaces beyond the privately policed territories in search of economic opportunities. These encounters suggest that while the space of the CID appears transgressed, challenged, and even negotiated daily, there is a powerful, exclusionary discourse that dominates the urban spaces and social relations (Paasche et al., 2012). Consequently, this develops into a city-wide exclusion of the urban poor towards township areas that resemble the apartheid order (Samara, 2011). If people are continually being shifted out of areas of economic opportunities, the immediate solution is to find other ways to sustain their livelihoods, and the alternative is on the streets. Therefore, exclusionary techniques and unequal distribution of resources can play a role in perpetuating street homelessness.

In Cape Town, broader social and cultural values seem to prioritise individualism at the expense of collective responsibility (Parsell, 2011). Furthermore, social, and cultural values can constrain the nature of service delivery to people who are homeless, as these values show how people perceive and respond to the needs of street homeless people. Therefore, appropriate responses to street homelessness are contingent on the way people experiencing homelessness are represented and identified (Parsell, 2011).

2.8. Experiences of homelessness

Subjective reports of homeless individuals' experiences of services reveal the state of mental health care service and night shelters (Hwang & Burns, 2014; Phillips & Kuyini, 2017; Tipple & Speak, 2003). In India, street homeless people confirm the filthiness of night shelters. For example, a taxi man in India, states that it is not that they cannot afford the night shelters, but they are expected to pay, even though the night shelter conditions are worse than sleeping on pavements (Tipple & Speak, 2003). In Australia, street homeless individuals are critical of the homeless shelters, their cost, rules, exclusions, and authoritarian manner (Hwang & Burns, 2014). Additionally, Phillips and Kuyini (2017) found that staff displayed negative attitudes such as stigmatisation, discrimination, and lack of respect towards the street homeless. In South Africa, nothing much has been said about the utilisation of night of shelters, but people who used the transitional housing and shacks, complained of the distances of these structures from the city, which makes it difficult to secure employment and sustain their livelihoods (du Toit, 2010). Therefore, the habits and ways homeless people use to cope and maintain their lives are under-researched in South Africa.

2.9. Impact of homelessness on the well-being of the person

Negative representations of people experiencing homelessness perpetuate stigma and notions of homogeneity, inferiority, and dysfunction (Parsell, 2010). Homeless people, when presented negatively, become reluctant to engage in health and community services because negative images undermine their life experiences, perception, and strengths (Thomas et al., 2012). Consequently, homeless people pursue aspects of life that are meaningful and valuable to their lives on the streets to avoid stigmatisation. There are health risks associated with living on the streets, such as a lack of adequate shelter, which can lead to exposure to coldness and dampness (Seager & Tamasane, 2010). Other risks can be related to a lack of access to hygiene facilities, inadequate nutrition, substance

abuse, sexually risky behaviours, and high levels of violence and abuse (Seager & Tamasane, 2010). Therefore, the experiences and practices of people who are living on the streets can lead to deficit models of coping and extend further to alter the physical functioning of the person (Tshitereke, 2009).

2.9.1. Physical health

Street homeless persons have exhibited rapid declines in nutritional levels despite meal programmes since the mid-1980s (Dachner &Tarasuk, 2002). Studies that generate standard mortality ratios of homeless people reveal age-adjusted death ratios to be two to four times higher than the normal population, falling below 40 to mid-50 years (Lee et al., 2010). The difficulty to obtain or the lack of access to health care services exacerbates infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, which in turn impacts heavily on the well-being of the street-homeless (Kelly & Caputo, 2007). The limited means of survival on the street are exacerbated due to the congestion and lack of proper sanitation facilities such as toilets and a lack of running water on the streets. The lack of facilities contributes to the spread of diseases, exposing these people to further marginalisation. The health challenges make the situation more difficult as they are coupled with income generation (Kelly & Caputo, 2007). There is no doubt that some of the illnesses are related to surviving on the streets and are therefore common to most street-homeless individuals (Kelly & Caputo, 2007). Such illnesses include sleep deprivation, respiratory illness, body lice, skin problems (scabies), as well as foot problems due to exposure to cold, improper footwear, and wet feet (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002). A street person's conception of health could therefore be more related to the capacity to remain alive rather than just the adopted biological conceptualisation of health and wellness. Biomedical conceptualisations limit health to biological problems, and associate health with social factors usually related to lifestyle (Paiva, Lira, Justino, Miranda & Saraiva, 2016). Medical facilities that adopt just the biomedical dimension to health make it difficult for the street-homeless to access their services, due to fear of being discriminated against, as these health challenges might be observed as personal neglect of the body

by the individual. The consequence of this association is to blame the individual suffering from illness or pathology (Paiva et al., 2016).

The street-homeless still conform to work as a socially accepted means of surviving (Paiva et al., 2016). Therefore, being on the street does not eliminate work; instead, an individual develops specific ways of guaranteeing survival (Paiva et al., 2016). The health challenges faced by street-homeless people is evidence of their survival extremes. For example, taking part in high-risk sexual activities becomes an integral part of the street lifestyle, thus indicative of their bodies as an indispensable asset for ensuring survival (Paiva et al., 2016). According to Walls and Bell (2011) the longer a person is homeless the higher the chances of turning to survival sex[6] Consequently, street-homeless populations are said to be at a higher risk for contracting HIV/AIDS and other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), because they are unable to control the risks due to the need to engage in high-risk activities for survival (Kelly & Caputo, 2007). The street-homeless have more immediate needs, such as, food, clothing, and shelter, which limit the choice of survival strategies (Seager & Tamasane, 2010). Therefore, finding a balance between essential needs and infections can be difficult. Furthermore, other researchers found that risky sexual behaviours are carried out while a person is intoxicated by drugs or alcohol (Walls & Bells, 2011; Seager & Tamasane, 2010). Moreover, there are clear associations between survival sex and mental health issues (Walls & Bells, 2011). A history of alcohol or drug abuse amplifies the decline of physical health among the homeless and can co-occur with other mental problems (Lee et al., 2010).

2.9.2. Mental health

High rates of mental health problems among the street-homeless in South Africa are associated with substance abuse (Seager & Tamasene, 2010). It is, however, not clear whether mental health problems

[6] Survival sex is a sexual activity done in exchange for food and other essential needs (Seager & Tamasane, 2010).

are present before or after drug use among street homeless people. Other forms of mental illness, such as depression can impair an individual's ability to function and thus contribute to homelessness (Moyo, Patel, & Ross, 2015). The impact of family breakup and material deprivation on mental health is common among street homeless people. (McNaughton, 2008). The prevalence of substance abuse among the street homeless is attributed to the lack of mental facilities or rehabilitation centres accessible to this population group in South Africa (Seager & Tamasane, 2010). Previously, people who were diagnosed with mental illness were confined to psychiatric hospitals or similar institutions. However, with the advent of new mental health policies, people were returned to their families without any support services (Moyo et al., 2015). The South African Mental Health Care Act 17 of 2002 upholds the right of persons with mental illness to be protected from discrimination and to receive care services in the communities where they reside (Moyo et al., 2015). Nevertheless, there is often a disjuncture between policies and implementation of service delivery (Moyo et al., 2015). Rehabilitation facilities are often private, expensive, and require an exit address before the admission of the individual. The failure on the part of street homeless people to provide an address and to keep appointments serves as further exclusion from the rehabilitation facilities. In South Africa, therefore, government hospitals are the only health care institutions that can be used by the street homeless (Moyo et al., 2015). Nonetheless, health institutions are not used by the street homeless due to the unwillingness of staff to assist them (Thomas et al., 2012). According to Thomas et al. (2012), health professionals are reluctant to treat the street homeless because they perceive them as dirty. Consequently, mental health problems that are drug-related are higher among the street-homeless in comparison to housed individuals (Gomez, Thompson, Barczyk, 2011). Furthermore, identification with street culture includes accepting drug use as a normal practice (Gomez et al., 2011). Drugs are used by the street-homeless to suppress hunger, keep warm, and stay awake for extended periods

(Gomez et al., 2011). Moreover, drugs are used to numb the daily experiences of life on the streets and the negative emotional effects of trauma (Gomez et al., 2011).

2.9.3. Keeping safe on the streets

The experience of living on the street and being homeless is closely related to witnessing and experiencing violence (Hills et al., 2016; Desmond, Timol, Groenewald, & Sausi, 2017). In the presence of uncertainty, trauma exposure can result in a reduced sense of well-being (Thomas et al., 2012). Keeping safe from physical harm can be difficult for street homeless people due to sleeping outside. The likelihood of being victimized increases when homeless people use the same accommodation for sleeping and eating (Thomas et al., 2012). Motala and Smith (2003) reported that rape is a common form of sexual assault experienced by women in Durban, South Africa. It is therefore not surprising that the women who are street-homeless fear for their lives. South Africa is reported to have the highest statistics of violence against women in the world (Hills et al., 2016). The lack of security can impact negatively on the well-being of the street-homeless, as it becomes the overriding and immediate priority. Plans and possibilities are overshadowed by the immediate concerns and risks of survival (Thomas et al., 2012). Nonetheless, everyday activities such as washing, wearing clean clothes, being in a community with others, and engaging in purposeful activities, provide immediate satisfaction.

2.10. Sources consulted for this literature review

To review the above literature on homelessness, several sources were consulted. Electronic databases, including EBSCO; JSTOR; Google Scholar; Tayler and Francis; and Wiley Online Library were used. I created a list of keywords related to my research topic and questions, and these included, homelessness, homeless people, street homelessness, and street people. Thereafter, I narrowed the search by looking at definitions, explanations, and experiences of homelessness. Following this, I

looked at government responses towards people who are homeless. This revealed the different approaches that have become more or less popular in the field of homelessness, such as the individualistic and structural approaches. Subsequently, I looked at the concepts that recur across the literature, that is, where do sources agree and disagree. The current challenge in the studies of homelessness is to define and enumerate homeless people. The difficulty in defining who homeless people are impacts on the numbers produced. This in turn influences the type of policies and interventions developed to reduce homelessness, to the extent that the current policies and interventions do not reduce homelessness but merely rearrange the problem. Therefore, definitions, interventions, and policies informed by homeless people's self-definition and experiences are limited or do not exist at all. The review of the literature highlighted the importance of self-description within the homeless population because definitions influence how homeless people are counted and responded to (Walter et al., 2015). There are complicated issues around self-defining as a homeless person. For example, some people define themselves as homeless due to a loss of a home or inability to access housing that provides stability, security, and privacy. Furthermore, shelters which are used to reduce homelessness are not stable and do not provide long-term accommodation and therefore people who use shelters will still self-define as homeless people. Additionally, some participants compare their homeless situation to others, for example, people who use shelters might see those who live on the street as homeless people and would not see themselves as homeless because they have the option to live under a roof. Therefore, there are subjective and diverse ways that home and homelessness are experienced. This highlighted the importance of this study in exploring the lived experiences of people who are street homeless. The view that homelessness is due to a lack of shelter, and that those who are permanently homeless are either excluded or disaffiliated is inadequate. It is imperative to understand the relationship between home and homelessness, and the exploration of people's experiences can reveal the subjective meaning of homelessness and home. Homelessness

conveys the implication of belonging nowhere rather than having no place to sleep. This reveals the limitation in the current conceptualisation of homelessness as a lack of shelter. For example, in South Africa, people continue to sleep outside, despite the many options of informal shelter that are supported and provided by the South African government. The gap still exists to uncover why people continue to be homeless. People's experiences of homelessness can provide some insights as to why they continue to be homeless.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework that underpins this study. However, before I expound on its key concepts, it is important to highlight the most used and popular theories in the studies of homeless populations. Thereafter, I will narrow the discussion to the two models that have made consensus in the explanation of homelessness, namely, the vulnerability model and social disaffiliation theory. Lastly, I will discuss the theory I have chosen to frame this study as well as my reasons for selecting it.

3.1. Theories used in studies of homeless people

There are different understandings of homelessness as shown in the literature review chapter. This is followed by the different theories that have been applied. Just as there are different conceptualizations of homelessness, it also appears that there is no single unified theory of homelessness. Instead, the approach to homelessness seems to be carried out from very different orientations and theoretical models (Munoz, Vazquez, Panadero, & Vicente, 2005). Additionally, studies on homelessness are not only determined as a function of the type of orientation used, such as psychological models, social models, or a combination of both but also as a function of other factors, for example, the type of population studied (Munoz et al., 2005). Although some authors propose models to be applied to the entire homeless population, most studies reflect the type of homeless population studied. The majority of the studies focus on specific sub-groups; for example, there are specific models applied to homeless women (Olufemi, 2000: Stein, Leslie, & Nyamathi, 2002); and street youths (Hills, Meyer-Weitz, & Asante, 2016; Ward & Seager, 2010; Cohen & Sokolovsky, 1983).

Besides the type of population group being studied, some models attempt to explain the characteristics of the situation, such as the different processes and behaviours associated with homeless people, for example, the use of health services (Thomas et al., 2012), the onset of

homelessness (Stein, Leslie, & Nyamathi, 2002), maintenance of homelessness (Calsyn & Winter, 2002), severe health problems associated with living on the streets (Seager & Tamasane, 2010), and a high degree of victimization (Garland, Richard, & Cooney, 2010). Furthermore, specific models are employed, such as ecological perspectives proposed by (Toro, Trickett, Wall, & Salem, 1991) and vulnerability models (Calsyn & Winter, 2002; Stein et al., 2002; Wong & Pillivian, 2001).

Regarding the theoretical orientations, the first models applied to the area of homelessness proceeded from the social approaches (Munoz et al., 2005). Social approaches emphasise the role of various structural variables, for example, socio-economic status, social adjustment, and adaptive behaviour and social networks, as in the case of social disaffiliation models (Cohen & Sokolovsky, 1983; Malloy, Christ, & Hohloch, 1990; Rowe & Wolch, 1990). After social approaches are psychosocial models, which integrate psychological factors and environmental factors. For example, social cognition emphasises the infrequent use of health services by the homeless; vulnerability models focus attention on the onset of and maintenance of homelessness (Munoz et al., 2005; Goodman, Saxe, & Harvey, 1991). Some studies have applied psychological models, and these incorporate structural factors, such as psychodynamic models based on the attachment theory (Tavecchio, Thomeer, & Mees, 1999), behavioural models (Flynn, 1997), cognitive-behavioural models (Cabral, Galavotti, Gargiullo, Amstrong, Cohen, Gielen, & Watkinson, 1996), and systemic models (Murray & Baier, 1990).

I believe structural factors such as economic, social, and political factors play an important role in the explanation of homelessness in South Africa (De Beer, 2016). However, structural factors are insufficient in explaining why not all people who are subjected to the same structural challenges are homeless. The socioeconomic factors, such as scarcity of jobs, work instability, lack of affordable housing, escalating housing prices, or lack of affordable rent, are no doubt, fundamental contributors, to the situation of homelessness. However, these cannot be considered distinctive factors pushing

people to be homeless, hence some models incorporate individual vulnerabilities to supplement their explanations of homelessness. Individual vulnerabilities pertain to the identification of factors such as deficiencies in the social or family of origin, lack of education, severe work difficulties, health problems, stressful life events, and suffering from chronic mental disorders (Stein et al., 2002; Wong & Piliavin, 2001; Munoz et al., 2005) into explanations of homelessness. Vulnerability models have gained popular interest and a high degree of agreement in their explanation of homelessness. Vulnerability models, although new, share similar characteristics, and thus overlap with the social disaffiliation theory, which has gained popularity since its inception in 1973. I do not elaborate on these models but only identify their core principles.

3.2. Social Disaffiliation Theory

Social disaffiliation theory originates from Bahr and Caplow (1973). They define social disaffiliation as detachment from society through the lack or weakening of associative bonds that link people to a network of interconnected social structures. They identified the following types of affiliative bonds: family, school, work, religion, politics, and recreational bonds as the source of power needed to survive in modern society (Bahr & Caplow, 1973). These bonds according to Bahr and Caplow (1973) were found missing among the homeless population groups. Subsequently, a lack of group membership and stable social networks were understood to render homeless people powerless and socially disaffiliated (Bahr & Caplow, 1973). Bahr and Caplow (1973) identified three major paths to disaffiliation, the first one being, changes in life (for example, the death of family members), situational changes (for example, the loss of a job), or both. The second path is the person's voluntary withdrawal from the community (for example, drug addiction). The third path is a person's lifetime isolation from all aspects of social ties.

3.3. Vulnerability models

Vulnerability models seem to explain the various factors that increase the risk of becoming homeless (Munoz et al., 2005). These models identify childhood factors and adult vulnerabilities as risk factors for homelessness (Munoz et al., 2005). The models pinpoint adverse experiences that increase the risk of homelessness, such as sexual abuse, physical abuse, being far from home, lack of school attendance, and family dysfunction in a child's life (Stein et al., 2002). Additionally, a higher concentration of these adverse events was discovered to be related to a lower age of onset of homelessness (Koegel, Melamid, Burnam, 1995). Furthermore, some of these studies suggested that a lack of care and abuse in infancy is related to the risk of becoming homeless as an adult (Stein et al., 2002). Adults who are homeless were found to report histories of foster care during childhood, however, it does not mean these adults experienced some form of abuse but could be related to the family dysfunction before being adopted (Stein et al., 2002). In trying to explain how these adverse events are related to the onset of homelessness, Stein et al. (2002) propose that people who have experienced some form of these challenges in childhood could find it difficult to acquire skills to establish and maintain stable relationships and housing (Stein et al., 2002). Regarding health, problems such as physical health and mental disorders have been identified as factors that increase the probability of becoming homeless (Martens, 2001). Other authors proposed the existence of emotional problems associated with the adverse events mentioned above as factors that prevent people from maintaining family connections (Stein et al., 2002). Furthermore, adverse childhood events were found to be related to the onset of psychiatric disorders such as depression and substance abuse, which are risk factors for homelessness (Stein et al, 2002). However, as far as mental disorders are concerned, when compared to the domiciled population, Caton, Hason, Shrout, Opler, Hirshfield, Dominguez, & Felix, 2000) found that in the absence of a psychotic disorder, having another mental

disorder was not a risk factor for homelessness. However, the co-occurrence of psychotic disorders with other mental disorders increases the risk of becoming homeless (Caton et al., 2000).

Besides childhood factors, the model identifies adult vulnerabilities, such as the loss of work or break-up of the first marriage as a risk factor for the first experience of homelessness (Stein et al., 2002). Accompanying this is the low educational level in men because it reduces the probability of finding a job (Caton et al., 2000). However, there was no evidence that low educational level affects women in the same way. Other factors identified were poverty, family instability, which in addition to being a risk factor for homelessness, could also be a risk factor for mental disorders (Sullivan, Burnam, & Koegel, 2000). The reasons that outline why people become homeless coincide with homeless people's expressions as to what led them to homelessness (Munoz et al., 2005). Homeless people were found to accentuate a particular life event in their explanation as to why they are homeless. These life events may include economic related problems, the break-up of relationships, as well as problems with mental health (Munoz et al., 2005; Stein et al., 2002).

In summary, the vulnerability models propose that childhood abuse predicts homelessness in adulthood (Stein et al., 2002). These vulnerabilities are accentuated by poverty and health-related problems in adulthood (Stein et al., 2002).

Both these theories, social disaffiliation and vulnerability models, seem to agree that homelessness is rooted in changes and/or disruption in a pattern or a way of life, such as growing up in a nurturing family system, and/or being connected to a network of supportive relationships. Therefore, homelessness is reflected as a change in a conventional way of life, and this paints the idea that life is concrete and static (Conroy, 2003). However, our way of life is connected to and is informed and shaped by others, and in this way, change is possible and endemic to one's life (Conroy, 2003). Homelessness could, therefore, be a person's way of responding to this unsettled way of existing in the world. As has been shown by the above theories, homelessness is informed by a person's past and

present experiences in their world, which in turn determine one's future. This reveals that our existence has elements of historicity (that is, our past, present, and future), which inform and shape our lives (Pascal, 2010). This stance coincides with Heidegger's philosophical concept of temporality, which he used to illustrate his philosophical understanding of a person's position in the world (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). According to Heidegger (1927, 2011), our time in the world is temporal. That is, we exist as human beings within our own personal and social-historical context (Pascal, 2010). Temporality, therefore, presents our past, present, and future, and how this shapes human existence (Pascal, 2010). Our past is revealed through our dispositions, the present through language and meaning, and the future as indefinite, where we run against our horizon, i.e., death (Watts, 2001). Through this concept of temporality, I will outline how Heidegger's philosophy reframes the phenomenon of homelessness.

Currently, the two models discussed above have gained considerable popularity in the field of homelessness in the USA and UK. I have discussed them because dominating ideologies often shape the data that is created about homeless people, usually, though not always, reinforcing these same ideologies (Schiff, 2003). Also, existing and underlying notions of homelessness that do not completely or accurately reflect people's experiences still exert a tremendous force (Schiff, 2003). For example, vulnerability models point out that poor parenting or marriage breakdown could contribute to homelessness (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Thereafter, marriage breakdown is viewed as an individual factor and overlooks the fact that it can also be structural or both (Somerville, 2013). All that is known is that structural factors create the conditions within which homelessness occurs, and then, individual factors determine the likelihood of becoming homeless in these conditions (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). The relationship between structural and individual problems is, therefore, not clearly stated (Somerville, 2013). Secondly, homelessness itself is taken as a given social fact, that is, the truth about social relations that can be measured independently out of our experiences of

those relations (Somerville, 2013). It is thus questionable as to whether vulnerability models provide new ideas in the explanation of homelessness because social disaffiliation theory has highlighted the same kind of relationship (Sommerville, 2013). Bahr and Caplow (1973) believed that homelessness is 'caused' by a failure of relationships between an individual and society. This points to the same relationship between individual and structural factors advocated by the vulnerability models.

Harman (2008) warns that homelessness needs to be studied holistically, instead of reducing it to its properties or of its effect on other things. This is not to say these models do not provide valuable insights into the phenomenon of homelessness, but we cannot ignore the fact that dominating ideologies are deeply written into the daily information generation practices surrounding homelessness. The focus on individual factors from both models could be accentuating the overriding dominating conception that permeates the field of homelessness, referred to as the individual-responsibility conception (Schiff, 2003). This conception sees people as individually responsible for their homelessness. Individual factors determine the degree to which people are viewed sympathetically, and thus forgiven, or harshly, and thus criminalised. Therefore, vulnerability models and social disaffiliation seem to disconnect homelessness from the reality of human experience (Somerville, 2013). Experience is either discounted or reduced to a single dimension – such as a lack of housing, or statistical associations that do not seem to reflect any real social situation (Somerville, 2013).

3.4. Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a theoretical framework concerned with understanding the experiences of individuals from their perspectives, regarding various phenomena (Laverty, 2003). However, phenomenological studies regarding homelessness differ from studies using other theories, such as social disaffiliation and vulnerable models in a variety of ways, the most significant being the goals

of phenomenological research (Goulding, 2005). Goulding (2005) describes the essential goals of phenomenology as being an attempt to enlarge and deepen understanding of the participants' experiences; to reveal or uncover everyday ordinary existence, because it is in everyday activities that the meaning of existence resides (Heidegger,1927, 2011). Lived experience is, therefore, an integral part of this theoretical framework (Laverty, 2003). There are several assumptions to this theoretical framework, one of them is that individuals are self-deciphering, and another being that their translations expect a mutual comprehension of the phenomenon being contemplated (Wertz, Nosek, McNiesh, & Marlow, 2011). These assumptions emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation (Laverty, 2003). The focus on individual perspectives enables the participants to provide rich descriptions that reveal their insights and motivations (Patton, 2002). This allows new ways of understanding to be brought to light, adding to and/or challenging the dominant ideologies, along with their assumptions and generalizations (Lopez, 2004).

Socially accepted worldviews often reflect the values of privileged individuals in context, to an extent that the lived experiences and personal voices of people in marginalized groups are often discounted (Lopez, 2004). Durrheim and Dixon (2005) argue that researchers in psychology need to take people's lived experiences regarding any phenomenon under investigation seriously. They argue against researchers describing the phenomenon in their terms, stating that research participants' interpretations and understandings of phenomena are not conterminous with the abstract definitions of researchers (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). This understanding is relevant in studies pertaining to homelessness because the current definitions of homeless people tend to be more external than individual self-definitions (Walter, et al., 2015). Therefore, given that the primary aim of the research was to explore participants' lived experiences of homelessness, the focus on a personal perspective as advocated by phenomenology was important in this study.

Phenomenological studies on experiences of homelessness conducted on men and women who have lived on the streets for more than a year in London, United Kingdom (UK), were able to gather research that painted a portrait of the everyday struggles the participants experienced owing to living their lives on the streets (Butler, 2017). The phenomenological approach to these studies, and specifically the research participants, contributed to the knowledge of the experiences of homeless people, by interpreting the phenomena in their terms. The researchers were able to understand how people living on the streets contextualise, ascribe meaning to, and cope with experiences of homelessness. Similarly, Hills et al. (2016) were able to elicit nuanced descriptions of street homeless children's experiences in Durban and the meanings these participants ascribed to these experiences of homelessness in South Africa.

While I concede that the examples of phenomenological studies cited are still perhaps narrow in their focus, including only marginalised participants; I still maintain that the objective of the phenomenological approach to deal with research makes this worldview the most proper for an investigation of this scope.

Interpretive phenomenology, inspired by Heidegger (1927, 2011), focuses on existential issues, such as personal perception, meaning-making, angst, and leading an authentic life; and all these issues are aligned with the aims of this study. Existential challenges for homeless people occur in everyday tasks such as eating, cooking, and personal hygiene. Additionally, existential challenges can further manifest in one's purpose and meaning in life, for example, loss of a role like motherhood in the case of homeless people. The loss of role can impact self-identity. Accompanying such challenges is not only anxiety and concern but also "existential angst", that is, a confrontation with the limitations of one's mortality (Heidegger, 1927, 2011).

Heidegger (1927, 2011) put forth an array of key tenets in his phenomenological philosophy, but for this study, a few applicable ones were selected. The tenets acknowledged in this study included the

concept of ‘being’, “dasein”, “being-in-the-world”, “encounters with entities” in the world, “being with”, “temporality”, “care structure”, “concernful average everydayness”, “ready to hand”, “the they”, “distantiality”, “thrownness”, “fallenness/absorption”, “projection/ possibility” and the “fore-structure of understanding” (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015, p. 3). All these tenets are addressed in terms of the focus on dasein which, in the context of this study, includes the people living on the streets, government officials, and other human beings with whom the people living on the street interact daily.

The life pathway of the participants is interpreted using the concept of temporality, to explore their past (A life before the streets), present (A life on the streets), and future (goals and possibilities) as people who are street homeless. The findings chapter will expand on the application of the concepts outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 4 Research design and methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological choices adopted in this study. It begins with the rationale of the study, its aims, and objectives. Thereafter, the research paradigm, which informs us of the methods used, is described and motivated. Furthermore, I describe the participant selection, along with the sampling and recruitment strategy. The methods used for data collection and analysis are discussed, as well as the procedures used to ensure the trustworthiness of the research findings. The chapter ends with ethical considerations undertaken to safeguard the participants and the researcher.

4.1. Research aims

The primary aim of the research was to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness from the perspectives of those who are living on the streets and government officials who serve the street homeless in urban Cape Town.

The sub-aims of the research were to:

- explore how people who are living on the streets describe themselves in relation to street homelessness.
- explore how people who are living on the street daily make sense of their lives, the people around them, and the life circumstances they find themselves in as a result of being street homeless.
- explore what it is like to be a government official working with people who are street homeless, and how such experiences help them to make sense of what street homelessness means within the South African context.

4.2. Research design

This study adopted an exploratory, qualitative research design (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Since the study was focused on lived experiences, participants' stories were important sources of knowledge (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, qualitative methods were adopted because they use textual data in the form of written or spoken language, and/or images in their discovery of meaning and in exploring a social phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Additionally, the social, political, economic, and cultural experiences of street homelessness are unique and bound within a specific context (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Since the focus of this study was to understand "lived experiences" from the perspectives of the participants, phenomenology was adopted (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Phenomenology underpins the philosophical position as well as the research methods used in the research (Lopez & Willis, 2004). To understand phenomenology as a research method, it is necessary first to briefly define phenomenology as a research paradigm, both ontologically and epistemologically, and to distinguish between descriptive and interpretive phenomenology (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

4.2.1 A brief overview of phenomenology

Phenomenology refers to a philosophic attitude as well as a variety of research approaches (Flood, 2010). According to Sokolowiski (2000), Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) was the founder of phenomenology. Other main contributors to phenomenology are Martin Heidegger (1889 – 1976); Emmanuel Levinas (1906 – 1995); Jean-Paul Sarte (1905 – 1980); Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1907-1960); and Paul Ricoeur (1913) (Sokolowiski, 2000). The word phenomenology is a compound of the Greek words "phainomenon" and "logos" (Sokolowiski, 2000, p. 25). It is the action of "giving an account, giving logos, of various phenomena or phainomenon" (Sokolowski, 2000, p.25). The core doctrine of phenomenology is the teaching that every act of consciousness we perform, every experience that we have, is intentional (Sokolowiski, 2000).

There are two philosophical approaches in phenomenology, namely, descriptive (eidetic) and interpretive (hermeneutic) (Lopez & Willis, 2004). These approaches guide the level of analysis applied as well as the findings generated in a study (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

Descriptive phenomenology was coined by Hursserl (1970) and assumes that experiences perceived by human consciousness have value and should be an object of scientific enquiry (Flood, 2010). Husserl (1913, 2002) argues that every individual is aware of being in a world in which space spreads out endlessly. Ontologically, a person consciously observes the world and a sense of being in the world, from the place where he/she is standing, and it is in that consciousness that this world unfolds (Husserl, 1913, 2002). Therefore, a central concept to Husserlian phenomenology is consciousness, which is the medium through which we access whatever "is given" to awareness (Giorgi, 2012). For Husserl, human actions influence what people perceive to be real (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Therefore, to bring out the essential components of the lived experiences of a specific group, a descriptive approach is suitable but needs to adhere to its principles, e.g., bracketing (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Bracketing refers to the process whereby a researcher needs to suspend all prior personal knowledge as well as his/her personal biases (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Descriptive phenomenologists refer to this process as a 'transcendental subjectivity', whereby the researcher constantly evaluates the impact of his / her involvement on the inquiry (Lopez & Willis, 2004). This transcendental subjectivity prevents biases and preconceptions from influencing the study and ensures scientific objectivity (Flood, 2010). Another assumption of a descriptive phenomenology is that of universal essences (eidetic structures), which are features of the experience common to all persons who have had the lived experience, thus revealing the true nature of the phenomenon studied (Flood, 2010). This means that descriptive phenomenologists believe that essences generated through a phenomenological inquiry result in one correct interpretation of the experienced phenomenon (Flood, 2010). Another assumption is that of radical autonomy, which specifies that an individual's freedom to choose is independent of culture,

society, and the politics found in context (Flood, 2010). In this view, the reality considered is objective and independent of history and context (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

Heidegger (1962), a student of Husserl (Sokołowski, 2000), coined the term interpretive phenomenology (hermeneutics). The word hermeneutics is derived from the name Hermes, a Greek god who interpreted messages between gods (Sokołowski, 2000). Hermeneutics is said to be widely used as an academic practice in the discipline of theology, to interpret biblical text (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Concerning the study of human experiences, hermeneutics is used to look for meaning embedded in human practices (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

Therefore, the focus of a hermeneutic inquiry is on what human beings experience instead of what they consciously know about their experiences (Lopez & Willis, 2004). The focus is on how people relate to the world around them. This means that it is the exploration of the lived experience dasein (the situated meaning of a human being in the world) (Flood, 2010). The use of the term 'lifeworld' expresses the idea that individual realities are constantly influenced by the world in which they live (Flood, 2010). Heidegger believes that humans' rootedness in the world makes it impossible to separate their subjective experiences from the social, cultural, and political contexts they live in (Flood, 2010). Even though individuals are free to make choices, their freedom is not absolute. Instead, it is constrained by the specific conditions of their lives (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

Interpretive hermeneutic phenomenology is therefore focused on describing the meanings of an individual's life worlds (Lopez & Willis, 2004), all in all, the meaning that influences people's choices, as opposed to looking for simple expressive of the perceived world in the narratives of the participants (Flood, 2010). Another tenet of hermeneutic phenomenology is that valuable guides to the inquiry are the presuppositions or expert knowledge on the part of the researcher. Heidegger emphasised that it is impossible to rid the mind of the background of understanding that has led the researcher to consider a topic worthy of research in the first place (Koch, 1999); thus a researcher's

knowledge is useful and necessary in the understanding of the phenomenon. Instead, a researcher needs to make preconceptions explicit and explain how she/he has used them in the inquiry (Lopez & Willis, 2004). There is also an important concept, that of 'co-constitutionality', referring to the blend of meanings that the researcher arrives at, articulated by both participants and the researcher (Koch, 1999).

Lastly, the critical stance in interpretive hermeneutic phenomenology, allows the researcher to explore socially accepted ways of viewing reality, which often reflects ideologies of privileged individuals in each social context (Lopez & Willis, 2004). This allows the researcher to critique the historical bases of dominant ideologies and analyse in detail how these ideologies shape and organize the daily lives of the study participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007) to explore how these serve to mask, gloss over, ignore, or play down the realities of the participants (Lopez & Willis, 2004). The aim is to empower marginalized individuals and groups to be critically aware of the positions they occupy in relation to other groups and start to liberate themselves from oppressive and damaging conditions (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

To illustrate this, descriptive phenomenologists believe that a researcher needs to "bracket" his/ her prior experiences through a notion called phenomenological reduction to arrive at the essences of an experience (Laverty, 2003). Conversely, interpretive hermeneutics see prior knowledge, experiences, and assumptions as valuable tools in the interpretation and creation of meaning (Laverty, 2003). In this study, my focus was not only on the descriptions of the experiences but also on the participants' lifeworld's, thus placing the lived experience in the context of daily practices and socialization (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

Therefore, an interpretive hermeneutic phenomenological approach was used in this research, as it facilitates the exploration of the participants' experiences of homelessness in relation to the current land restrictions and distributions in South Africa. Even though this approach is more common in

nursing studies, it has been used by other researchers such as Pascal (2010) in social work studies, exploring the lived experiences of cancer survivors. Moreover, it has been recently used by (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015) to explore the views and experiences of teenage parents as service users of universal child and family health services.

4.2.2 The use of the interpretive hermeneutic phenomenological approach in this study

The concept of dasein delineates the thought of a living being through their actions of being there and being in the world (Cerbone, 2009). People's central activities are directed towards defining who they are, and their existence (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). My research explores how people who are homeless define themselves and their possibilities (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015). Being in the world is the essential structure of every individual (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). Secondly, I explored who the participants are in their world to achieve my second objective. People's everyday activities reflect their existence with others. This helped me to explore how the people who are street homeless are influenced and shaped by others (das Man) (Heidegger, 1927, 2011).

In the next paragraph, I briefly outline the application of interpretive phenomenology in this study, both ontologically and epistemologically. Ontology is understood as assumptions concerning the nature of being and reality, whilst epistemology refers to the assumptions about the nature of knowledge (Scotland, 2012). My ontological position in this study was that of relativism (Scotland, 2012). Relativism is the view that the truth is abstract and varies from individual to individual (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I believe that there is no one concrete answer to complex human phenomena (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). Street homelessness is a multidimensional phenomenon and is experienced differently across age, gender, and different social-historical contexts (Somerville, 2013). Being consistent with Heidegger's perspective, being street homeless was thus the ontological question of

being (Pascal, 2010), thus allowing the participants to self-define what being street homeless means to them as persons living on the streets. These self-definitions elicited the subjective meanings of street homelessness and, to an extent, contradictory meanings. Furthermore, the meanings provided by the people living on the streets contradicted those of government officials working with street homeless. For example, the participants self-defined themselves as street homeless people but were not regarded as street homeless by government officials and were therefore excluded from their intervention strategies. This shows that reality and knowledge are a combination of an individual's ideological position and experiences gained through interacting with others in the world (Pascal, 2010). Therefore, knowledge is developed and transmitted in social contexts (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The importance of understanding street homelessness from the standpoint of the individuals who participate in it (Cohen, 2007), the people who are living on the street, was highlighted by this approach.

My epistemological position was that of intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity in this study pertains to the acknowledgement of a mutual research relationship between the researcher and the study participants (Pascal, 2010). This was consistent with Heidegger's notion of the fore-structure of understanding which he believes is inherent in any human being in the world (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). Being in the world according to Heidegger (1927, 2011) makes us significant sources of knowledge. This knowledge enhances the ability to influence how we perceive the phenomenon through what he calls, fore-having, foresight, and fore conceptions (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). I expand on the concept of "fore-structure of understanding" under the section on reflexivity, to reveal how my prior-knowledge, assumptions, and experience influenced the research process. Another way in which I show intersubjective understanding is through an inductive approach to data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) thus giving voice to the participants by illuminating their emic perspectives (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015). Moreover, the concept being-in-the-world is used to denote our

inseparability from the world in which we live and is consistent with the concept of a "person in context" advocated by the systems theory (Pascal, 2010, p. 8). The exploration of the person in context is consistent with Heidegger's exploration of human beings' average everydayness (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). Average everydayness according to Heidegger (1927, 2011) relates to the measurement of one's self against others, copying the behaviour of other people, and the removal of difference and uniqueness of the individual. Heidegger (1927, 2011) believes that understanding is achieved through worldly activity; that who we are, and the nature of our relationships is reflected in our unconscious concernful average everyday interactions with others in the world. It is in these unnoticed activities that the rich ontological categorical structure of our being is revealed, albeit not couched by theory (Larking et al., 2009). Through this, Heidegger's perspective on care structure was used as the lens to explore the data (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). In Heidegger's terminology, it exposes the human being's "circumspective angst", a reflection of our future aims, goals, desires, and ambitions (Pascal, 2010, p. 5). The "care structure" is presented in three temporal primordial notions, that is, the past, present and future, and I explored how these shaped the existence of the participants (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). The participants' past, grief, and loss were the underlying forces that made participants question their existence, trying to make sense of their lives in the absence of the people they loved. In care for their future potentiality, the participants in their present existence found themselves in a state of thrownness, existing in a social context with already predefined norms, values, and culture, which resulted in two modes of existence (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). These translated to the participants' inability to transcend the existing forces of culture and politics in context, resulting in what Heidegger (1927, 2011) calls an inauthentic existence. The participants conformed unquestioningly to societal norms and values, thus losing selfhood (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015). For example, some of the participants felt that law enforcement agencies had the right to destroy the structures they had built, as long as they did not confiscate their clothes; that structures

they used were indeed defiling the image of the city. The rest of the application of this approach is revealed in the ensuing results chapters.

4.3. Setting for research

Cape Town is said to have over 7383 homeless people based on a study investigating homelessness within the City of Cape Town from July 2014 to August 2015. The study was conducted by the Directorate of the City of Cape Town Social Development and Early Childhood Development (City of Cape Town-Hendricks et al., 2015). Out of the estimated 7383 homeless people within the municipality, 4862 were living on the streets, while the rest were assumed to be living in shelters. This study interviewed 1700 homeless people, of which 20% were women and 80% were men (Hendricks et al., 2015). These figures reflect a lower percentage of women. Other studies on homelessness also reveal that women use shelters more than men, as men and women follow different pathways out of homelessness (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Another author, Lee et al. (2010) confirmed that females tend to reflect lower figures when it comes to street homelessness. This is because women are more likely to be accepted as statutory homeless when they are accompanied by children (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). According to Hendricks et al. (2015), the homeless participants' in their study in Cape Town ranged in age from 25 to 45 years old for both genders. Besides gender, the results provided different categories of people found on the street such as street people, chronic street people, day strollers, gangsters, ex-convicts, non-South African foreign nationals, and street born (City of Cape Town-Hendricks et al., 2015). However, this information is difficult to understand because it is not clear how these other groups differ from people who are homless; and, with the exception of chronic street people, the groups listed do not correspond with other categories that have been generated both locally and internationally (Lee et al., 2010; Aliber, 2002). Concurrently, chronic street people are not defined, as this can refer to entrenched or repeated homelessness, and long-term or multiple episodes of homelessness (Lee et al., 2010).

Most homeless people in Cape Town are found in the following locations: Cape Town's inner city, Foreshore, Bellville, Goodwood, Strand, Strandfontein, Parow, Wynberg, and Sea Point. These areas were identified, and/or labelled as problematic areas (Hendricks et al., 2015). I have chosen the Bellville area because it hosts many homeless people. Bellville forms part of the Northern suburbs of Cape Town, hosting approximately 700 homeless people. Secondly, most of the people in this area do not use shelter services provided for them, but they provide their own shelters in the form of self-built structures instead.

4.4 Sampling Strategy

4.4.1 The sampling strategy used for homeless people

Given the origins of vagrancy and squatting in South Africa, the available literature focuses on black and coloured population groups (Davenport & Hunt, 1974). It was therefore important to use as my inclusion criteria black Africans and mixed-race (coloureds) street homeless people. In support of this, in a survey that counted street homeless people in Cape Town, the majority of street homeless individuals came from these groups; black Africans constitute 25%, and mixed races at 61% of the overall street homeless population (Hendricks et al., 2015). This means approximately 14% of the adult white population group are street homeless.

A significant sample approach was used to identify suitable participants (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). This type of sampling is consistent with hermeneutic phenomenology in that it is concerned with understanding the lived experiences from the perspectives of the people involved (Wilson, 2014; Patton, 2002). Purposive sampling allows the researcher to look for individuals who have information that is vital for the study, who in this case were the people who have had lived experiences of street homelessness (Kok et al., 2010; Patton, 2002). To be eligible, participants had to be sleeping and living on the streets without any use of shelters for more than a year. These people were deemed able

to provide significant information that is central to the purpose of the study, i.e. 'information-rich cases' (Patton, 2002). The study recruited men and women who were 18 years and older, living on the streets, excluding children. The recruits were from urban Cape Town, in Bellville. I selected the area because the places the street homeless occupy are familiar to me since I run a community-based project in the area. My project aims to help people who are homeless. This made it easy for me to find potential study participants. I approached the participants in the areas mentioned above and introduced myself as a research student. There were two demographic questions asked, and these were screening questions, to ensure that the participants met the selection criteria underpinning the study. These questions were: Would you consider yourself street homeless? How long have you been living on the streets and have you used night shelters in the past twelve months? Thereafter, I explained the study to participants who met the above exclusionary criteria and were interested in participating in the study. Subsequently, I explained further arrangements for the interviews.

Each participant received a written informed consent form (see Appendix C) to participate in the study and had the opportunity to go through it and ask questions prior to signing it. I also emphasised before the commencement of the interview that a recording device will be used and checked with each participant and assured them of confidentiality. This mitigated the risk that the research participant might have misunderstood this section of the informed consent form. In addition to informing the participants of their rights pertaining to the study, I also explained the referral process, should the participants wish to see a social worker or a psychologist after the interview.

In terms of data saturation, I continued to conduct interviews until new interviews did not provide new information that challenged or added to the emerging themes (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The final sample for my research was 11 street homeless participants.

4.4.2 The sampling strategy used for government officials

The study also recruited government officials working with the street homeless in Cape Town from the Department of Social Development and Early Childhood Development (DSDECD).

The researcher applied for institutional permission from the Directorate of Social Development and Early Childhood Development (DSDECD within the City of Cape Town's Department of Social Development) (Hendricks et al., 2015). It is important to note that this department is different from the Western Cape Department of Social Development (WCDSD) because it serves only vulnerable population groups, including the street homeless. Therefore, it was appropriate to send a request to this department, asking their officials to support the study.

The letter sent to the officials contained a brief introduction to the study and the number of officials required for the interviews (see Appendix A). For this process, I received assistance from my supervisor. This was followed by a request for a face-to-face meeting at the offices of Social Development in Cape Town. The outcome of the meeting was a formal application process that required the submission of the approved ethical clearance letter from Stellenbosch University, the approved research proposal, and the interview schedules to the City of Cape Town research unit.

It took approximately six months to receive an approval letter. I submitted the letter to the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the University of Stellenbosch before the recruitment of government officials. Subsequently, I contacted DSDECD to inform them about the approval. Following this, I contacted the government officials who oversee the Bellville area. I disseminated the request to the field workers who work in the Bellville area, including one integration officer and two field workers, and asked if they were willing to participate in the study. Afterward, a date, time, and place were scheduled for the interviews, which were set to take place at the DSDECD in Cape Town. There were only three government officials reported to be working in Bellville with the street homeless. However,

only two participated, because one of the officials was reported to be on sick leave, with no return date specified. Thus, the final sample was N = 2 for government officials.

Purposive sampling was used to select government officials to participate in the study (Patton, 2002). The government officials thus recruited were the field workers who work daily with the street homeless to carry out the policy objectives. An exploration of their lived experiences was important to uncover specific organizational practises that underpin their narratives, which could provide new knowledge for the strategies used (Patton, 2002).

4.5 Data collection

Semi-structured interviews are a popular and important research method (Whiting, 2008). They are one of the dominant data collection strategies for qualitative inquiry (Merriam, 2009). Additionally, semi-structured interviews are a versatile research tool, crossing all research paradigms, theoretical perspectives, and methodologies (Merriam, 2009). Moreover, this method supports the concept of co-constitutionality advocated by hermeneutic phenomenology, which illuminates participants' perspectives rather than yielding responses to the interviewer's predefined questions (Whiting, 2008).

When using semi-structured interviews, the researcher is also able to engage in a dialogue whereby initial questions are asked, and in light of the participant's responses, the researcher probes interesting and important areas that arise (Smith & Osborn, 2007, p. 57). This feature also helps the participant to assume an experiential expert position on the subject under investigation, which is an important concept for a study that is focused on the lived experiences of the participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Each participant was thus able to self-define and go as far as he/ she could in telling their stories (Smith & Osborn, 2007).

In this study, the face-to-face structure was more natural, making it easy to establish a connection with the participants, and it helped to direct the questions (Whiting, 2008). My empathetic position

was enhanced, thus enabling me to draw more meaning out of the expressions and non-verbal information shared by the participants, which could have been lost in a group setting (Whiting, 2008). Moreover, street homelessness can be experienced differently by different groups. For example, women may experience it differently from men. A group setting, such as a focus group, would have made it difficult to share sensitive information. Consequently, gathering people may compromise some of the crucial information revealed by one on one personal interaction. The use of interviews therefore helped to focus the research on individual perceptions and experiences of street homelessness.

The interviews were conducted in English for both groups, to collect data. All interviews took approximately 60-90 minutes each for both homeless people and government officials. The longest interview was 75 minutes, with one of the street homeless participants. Demographic questionnaires used for both groups gathered descriptive data from the participants. The demographic questionnaire is included in the outline of the interview for the street homeless and attached in Appendix A. The plan of the interview for the government official(s) is attached in Appendix B. All the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into text for further analysis. The interviews for the street homeless were carried out until data saturation. To achieve this, I listened to the recordings of the interviews and was thus able to identify repetitive themes throughout the interview process. Therefore, when the last two interviews elicited no new additional information, data collection stopped.

A written informed consent form was given to each participant, and each participant read it before the interview commenced and clarification was provided verbally where needed. I decided to use the Bellville local library to conduct interviews with the street homeless people. This is a community library that caters to all groups within the area, including homeless people. The street homeless people within this area are familiar with the library because they use it for other purposes such as for

bathrooms and relaxation. I chose the library to ensure that the participants did not stand out and thus draw attention to themselves. Secondly, it is near the places street homeless people use for shelter.

I applied for access to the library for the interviews, requesting the use of the library auditorium. The dates were booked from April 13 to 26 April 2018 and nine interviews were completed within this period. The additional two interviews were booked for the 9th of May to the 10th of May 2018. The bookings facilitated a structured process and made it easier for the social worker and the counselling psychologist to avail themselves for the referrals. The interviews were held in the morning between 10h00 and 13h00 as per booking sessions. This also helped me to adhere to the physical protocols approved for the study, which are the guidelines to ensure the safety of the researcher during fieldwork. Also, the choice of an earlier slot facilitated progress in the recruitment process by enabling me to approach the street homeless before they ventured out into the streets to scout for resources. The earlier time slot helped me to finish on time and thus be able to go back home, reflect on the interviews, and listen to the recordings, which was the start of my data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The interviews with government officials took place at the offices of Social Development and Early Childhood Development in Cape Town. The interviews commenced in the morning, and two officials attended. The third government official working in the Bellville area reported sick with no return date.

4.6 My reflexivity as a researcher

In an interpretive research context, the researcher becomes the instrument to collect data (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Instruments differ in their design, implementation, and experience (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). In the case of this study, firstly, I relate this to my unique personal, cultural, and historical experiences, which assisted me in relating and thus collecting data relevant to my study as

well as my role as a project manager for a non-profit organisation called Street Is Not My Reality (SINMR), which I have held for fours year. The organisation helps people who are living on the street. I was able to draw on these experiences to appreciate each participant's effort to assist me in this study. Secondly, I was conscious of circumstances that might have made the participants feel vulnerable, and therefore I had to make sure that each participant was protected when they were entering the research location. As mentioned earlier, I used the Bellville public library as my research location for interviews. Even though I knew that the street homeless were familiar with the library, I took the initiative of informing the receptionist and the security personnel who were on duty on the dates of the interviews to be aware that the people were coming to participate in the research study. I also decided to walk in and out with each participant who had come to participate in the study.

In consideration of how the street homeless might feel in terms of my appearance, I decided to be more relatable in terms of my dress code by wearing jeans and sneakers. This was done because I did not want to convey a message that I was in a more superior position to them. To illustrate this, one of the participants, while expressing the hurt she feels when people call her "bergie", said, "I had to make sure I look part". When I asked her what she means by this, she told me that she does not wear clean clothes daily, because she must look for recycling material from the dustbins. However, because she knew that she was coming for an interview, she had to look the part. I met this participant on the street, and as she was waiting for her turn, she went to wash for the interview. I had never thought before about what she shared with me. This made me realise the fault in my thinking, of recognising people who are living outside based on their appearance. Secondly, this made me reflect on how I identified who was street homeless. It was clear that even in my efforts to think I was doing something good, indirectly I could have offended some of the participants.

At the beginning of the interview, I made sure that each participant felt welcomed, showing my appreciation to them for agreeing to share their stories with me. I introduced myself as a researcher

and my reasons for doing interviews with them. I expressed to them that there were no right or wrong answers to what they must share with me. The participants were advised that their stories would be recorded and would remain confidential during the interview up to the writing and publication of the findings. It was explained to each participant that they could choose a name other than their original name, which would be used in the writing up and publication of the findings. Most of the participants used the names their friends use to refer to them on the streets. However, the participants signed the consent form using their real names, surnames, and signatures. This was to safeguard the participants' power and rights to the decision to participate in the interviews. Each participant read the consent form before signing it and could ask any questions pertaining to the consent form and/ or the interview. A copy of the consent form is attached in (Appendix C).

The device that I used for recording was placed on the table in full view of both the researcher and the participants. This was to make sure that I was able to see any changes to the instrument should it be faulty and make sure that the data was not corrupt. Three participants seemed uncomfortable at the beginning to see the recording even though they agreed to it. I was not sure if this reminded them of other experiences, such as providing a statement at the police station or other situations that I am not aware of. I assured them that the machine will record both of our voices so that I will be able to listen to our conversation at the end of the interview. I reassured them not to fear and that their stories were important to me and themselves. Another reassurance was that they could take their time if they found themselves too overwhelmed to continue and that it was their right to stop the interview or not to answer certain questions if they deemed the questions to be sensitive. This was also emphasised on the consent form that they signed.

Some participants looked confident from the beginning and others looked timid. For that reason, I started each interview differently, some with demographic questions and others with an open-ended question to allow the participants to elaborate more as they reflected on their experiences. A copy of

the interview schedule for the street homeless participants is attached in (Appendix A). I was able to probe areas of interest and/or words they used that were not familiar to me (Whiting, 2008). This also created ease, because the participants showed excitement when I asked the meanings of the words used, such as, “cold turkey”, and “buttons”. Moreover, this revealed the type of discourse they use to communicate with each other on the streets. Also, as a student at Stellenbosch University, I was homeless for eight months, sleeping in my car. This experience provided familiarity with aspects of participants’ experiences while living their lives on the streets, so my empathy was genuine (Koch, 1999). Nonetheless, I was aware of the confusion and tension of multiple roles as well as the inherent influence of my experiences (Koch, 1999). I acknowledged that my background and my current position as a managing director of this non-profit organisation could have influenced some of the questions asked (Moustakas, 2011). Nonetheless, the questions adhered to the interview schedule prepared in advance.

Even though the interviews were conducted in English, I allowed the participants to express themselves in any language they were comfortable with. Most of the participants understood the questions asked. However, some preferred to answer in their home language. There were instances where participants cried as they talked about some of their experiences. In these cases, my experience as a volunteer counsellor assisted me to give them the time they needed, allowing them to express their pain, sometimes in just being silent (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). After each interview, when I got home, I reflected on the interview by making field notes of what I observed. I also listened to the interview to mark areas where the participants displayed some form of body language, where they looked uncomfortable and/or shown signs of anger so that I could remember these during the transcription process (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009).

I was aware of my non-verbal cues during the interview. There were areas where I did not know whether I should ask or just continue being silent. Some of the questions were sensitive and I am

grateful to the participants for being open to me about their personal experiences. It was also difficult to hear some of the narratives due to the trauma experienced by the participants. However, I had to make sure that the interviews did not turn into a therapy session, and I stayed focused and asked if the participants were willing to continue.

At the end of each interview, I asked each participant if there was anything, they would like to add that would benefit the study and or how they felt about talking about the experiences. I gave each street homeless participant my number should they wish to see a social worker or a psychologist that had been pre-organised. However, none of the participants used a social worker or psychologist. I thanked each participant for their trust and for sharing their personal information with me. The participants received vouchers at the end of their interviews as indicated in the consent form. Each interview was unique and different. After my first interview, I was grateful for the opportunity to go through the interview with my supervisor so that I could make improvements in the way I conducted myself.

4.7 Quality control procedures

4.7.1 Data management

I received permission from the participants, and thus all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I transcribed the interviews personally due to the sensitive nature of the narratives from the participants. This process helped with confidentiality and to maintain compliance with research ethics. The transcribed data included verbal utterances, pauses, mumbling, silences, cries, signals, and laughter (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Each recording was marked with the date and time of the interview. All the recorded interviews were stored on the recording device and a backup was stored on google drive and my personal computer.

The transcribed data was marked using the pseudonyms of the participants' choice. Pseudonyms conserve anonymity and provide a sense of individuality to the participants (Wiles, Crow, Heath, & Charles, 2008). Audio-recorded material was transcribed verbatim, including grammatical errors, silences, and language used in context. The grammatical errors were transcribed as they were; no corrections were made, using Microsoft Word. This was done to preserve the original message from the participants and to sustain meaning.

Some of the participants expressed themselves in Afrikaans in response to some of the questions. These interviews were transcribed directly, and I did not ask an external person to translate the data, due to the sensitive nature of the study and to maintain confidentiality. My supervisor is Afrikaans speaking and she assisted to verify the extracts used and the translation to English.

4.8 Data analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis is not a linear process but runs concurrently with the process of data collection. According to researchers, this cyclical and recurrent approach facilitates reflection and interpretation and enhances our understanding of the issues at hand (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, I used my field notes and memos I made during data collection to supplement my analysis of the data. Thematic Analysis (TA) is one of the methods used for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns in this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is a theoretically flexible approach in that it works well within different theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For this study, thematic analysis was applied to the interview data to answer experiential-type questions within a phenomenological framework (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). TA was applied to the day-to-day experiences of the people living on the streets and the experiences of government officials who work with the street homeless. Therefore, the thematic analysis used is phenomenologically informed. I

elaborate further on the use of TA instead of other methods such as Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in the next section (IPA).

TA was chosen for its focus on patterning meaning across participants, instead of the unique characteristics of the individual participants as in the case with IPA (Langdrige, 2007). However, thematic analysis is consistent with IPA as it also involves coding and theme development, even though themes are developed across the whole data set. Based on the number of participants recruited as outlined in the sample size above, the focus on patterned meaning across the entire data set was more appropriate than the idiographic commitment (case-by-case analysis) advocated by IPA. Secondly, Braun and Clarke (2006) advocate that thematic analysis is suitable in research studies that investigate areas not sufficiently explored with participants whose views remain unknown. Subsequently, the six phases of thematic analysis were applied. I used the data-driven inductive approach of Braun and Clarke (2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), researchers must make explicit the steps undertaken as well as the assumptions that inform their data analysis. The critical nature of the thematic analysis enhanced the critical stance in hermeneutic phenomenology, which allowed me to explore socially accepted ways of viewing reality and I was able to comment on the historical bases of dominant ideologies in context and to analyse in detail how these ideologies shape and organize the daily lives of the study participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, I used TA as a 'contextualist' method, first to report experiences, meaning, and the reality of the study participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and secondly to see how the broader social context shapes the meaning of their lived experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A latent level of analysis was also applied, meaning that themes look deeper into the social, economic, and historical context of the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This aligns with the interpretive phenomenological framework underpinning the study, which involves the social context in understanding people's lived experiences.

In terms of the coding of the data, I allowed the data to speak for itself by coding diversely, documenting all new ideas that emerged instead of only what has been mentioned in the literature. This pattern is referred to as an inductive approach to data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). An illustration of how the data was transcribed as well as the coding process is detailed in the section on the six phases of thematic analysis. Concerning the analysis of the data, the hermeneutic cycle was employed, meaning that I analysed the data by moving between lines of the transcripts and the whole data set (Pascal, 2010; Braun & Clarke, 2006). To interpret the narratives, I used Heidegger's phenomenology as a lens for seeing the data, that is, temporality was one of the key concepts to emerge from the data, such as the past, present, and the future (Heidegger, 1927, 2011).

4.8.1 The six phases of Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis commences when a researcher(s) starts to notice issues of potential interest, and this could be during the data collection phase. I collected the data using a voice recorder, which enabled me to listen to each participant's story several times before transcribing. This helped me to reflect on some of the words used during the interview. I made notes as I listened to the voice recording, thus realising the emotional impact some of the responses had on me. I transcribed the data using Microsoft Word. This assisted me to listen extensively to each interview, going back and forth to the recorded data. To ensure that all words used were recorded, the emotional responses of the participants were also presented in the transcribed data. I then read through the transcribed data set, paying equal attention to each interview transcript, referred to here as a data item (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Secondly, I collated the data into one data set and coded on a descriptive level, making notes about expressed emotions such as crying, silence, and nodding. The words used repeatedly, words used to express pain, such as "it made me sore," "not all of us," descriptions of material and resources, places

that were mentioned, and daily activities and processes, were marked in different colours. This helped me to organise the data using the same words expressed in the participants' narratives instead of using predefined words found in the literature on homelessness (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thirdly, all sections of the transcribed data with a corresponding colour were clustered. I then went through the extracts again and coded each extract moving from a descriptive level to a more interpretive level of analysis, line by line (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I grouped all these codes and looked at the converging central meaning of the codes, and these were transmuted into a subordinate theme (Braun & Clarke, 2005). All themes generated from a particular section of the data were also analysed to encapsulate the meaning conveyed. This is what Braun and Clarke (2006) call "overarching themes".

Fourthly, I checked each theme against all the data-extracts used to support it to ensure that the essential meaning was maintained even though interpretation had been applied (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, "parental death and loss of property" was coded as "grief and loss." I then checked the entire dataset to ensure that it had been labelled accordingly. All themes generated from the entire dataset and their relationships are presented in figure 4.1, which Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to as a "thematic map".

In my fifth phase, the analysis continued to refine the specifics of each theme, reflecting on my analytical interpretations (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I then checked all the themes, to see if there were any gaps within the story that the themes brought to light.

The final phase was to report on my findings and produce a final report. Table 5.3 represents the thematic map of the lived experiences of the people who are living on the streets in Bellville and Table 5.4 represents the thematic map of the lived experiences of government officials who work with adults that are street homeless in Bellville.

4.9 Trustworthiness of study

4.9.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the confidence that can be placed in the research findings (Anney, 2014). It involves issues such as familiarity with the research context, sampling, triangulation, and prolonged engagement in the research site.

4.9.2 Member checking

The transcripts of the street homeless participants' interviews were not sent to them due to the lack of available resources for this population group. Instead, my number was given should they wish to withdraw from their interviews. No participant called to withdraw his or her transcripts. The transcripts of the government officials' interviews were emailed to them to verify the information. No amendment requests were received from government officials.

Furthermore, I had continuous engagement with my supervisor. Her knowledge, expertise in qualitative studies, and passion for community development were useful to me. We listened to my first interview together and she provided guidance and coached me on how to conduct myself during my interviews. Secondly, after I had started with the data analysis, we looked at the codes that I had generated, read them together, and she asked questions for clarity about some of the codes. A preliminary map of the themes was also sent to her as well as the first draft of my findings and she provided feedback and checked the extracts that supported the themes and comments. Her comments helped me to go back to my research aims and objectives, and to verify my understanding and ask more questions (Noble & Smith, 2015).

4.9.3 Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the use of multiple and differing methods, investigations, sources, and theories (Anney, 2014) to validate the findings of a research study. These strategies are intended to reduce bias on the part of the researcher and to examine the integrity of the participants' responses. Triangulation in the case of this study was not intended to verify responses, since the study focused on subjective understandings of the phenomenon. These different understandings were welcomed, and they provided rich descriptions of what street homelessness is from the perspectives of both groups. Therefore, different sources of data such as the street homeless, the government officials, and a research memo were used to illuminate converging and diverging understanding, which could be valuable information for further investigations. Subsequently, the first data source consisted of interviews carried out with people who are living on the street within the Bellville area. The second data source was the government officials who work with people who are living on the street in Bellville. This form of triangulation revealed a different understanding of street homelessness, one from the point of view of a policymaker and the other from the point of view of someone who lives daily on the street. Furthermore, there was convergence in the data, because the services provided by the government officials are directed towards the people who are living outside, and therefore what street homeless participants experience in terms of services delivery in the area was related to the services provided by these government officials.

Besides the triangulation of data sources, I also used member checking (Anney, 2014), to allow the government officials to verify the quality of my transcriptions, and to withdraw their responses if some of the text was not what they intended to say. This was facilitated by sending the transcripts to the government officials who were interviewed for this study.

4.9.4 Thick descriptions of the enquiry process

I provided an extensive set of details on the methodology used, ranging from participant selection and their social context and sampling strategies used for both groups, that is, government officials and the people who are living on the street. Interview locations were stated for both groups and motivation were provided as to why I selected those locations. The recruitment processes, demographic profiles of the research participants, and theoretical framework underpinning the study were indicated.

4.9.5 Dependability

Dependability alludes to the solidness of the discoveries over time (Anney, 2014). I used an audit trail and peer examinations (Anney, 2014). Audit trail refers to the systematic process followed to ensure quality data collection, recording, and analysis of research findings. I have, therefore, provided a detailed process as to when and how I accessed the interview locations, the time interviews were carried out, how long each interview took, how the personal information contained in informed consent forms and recording device was secured and the backup processes followed to safeguard the data.

Concerning peer examinations, I relied on the assistance and guidance received from my supervisor. She reviewed my research proposal, advised on the ethical guidelines, and gave approval for various elements of this research, including the methodology and the theoretical framework underpinning this study, analysis, interpretation, themes, and extracts provided on my final report.

4.9.6 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results of the study can be confirmed and corroborated by other researchers. I used a bottom-up approach to analyse the data, making sure that

interpretations are derived from the data. Secondly, I kept a reflexive journal to document my reflections and tentative interpretations. A synopsis of my background, perceptions, and personal history and how these challenged and influenced the research process, is discussed under the reflexivity of the researcher.

4.10 Ethical considerations undertaken for the study

4.10.1 Informed consent

A detailed explanation of the aims and purposes of the study was presented verbally and in a form to the participants prior to the commencement of the interviews. A signed consent form detailing issues concerning confidentiality, non-maleficence, and beneficence, as mapped out below, was a prerequisite to start each interview with a participant.

4.10.2 Confidentiality

Given the complexity and sensitive nature of street homelessness, confidentiality was assured. Consideration was given to the implications of their responses and the reporting of the findings. Confidentiality was achieved by ensuring that only my research supervisor and I as a researcher had access to the research materials. The specific areas that participants occupy are not disclosed in the published report. The audio recordings and hard copies of the documents were stored in a locked cabinet in the supervisor's office.

4.10.3 Non-maleficence and beneficence

Street homelessness in South Africa is a sensitive issue and it affects vulnerable groups. The following steps were considered to minimise harm:

i. Voluntary Participation

The participants were advised on the consent form that they were free to leave when they felt some of the questions would compromise their safety. Some of the questions could have had a potential risk of reminding the participants of the physical or psychological trauma they might have suffered before and after they moved onto the streets. The researcher organised a social worker and a psychologist to mitigate emotional distress exhibited. The letters of support are attached in Appendix H and I.

ii. Emotional fatigue on the research team

Emotional fatigue concerns the emotional impact that the research process could have on the researcher and the protocols to mitigate harm on the part of the researcher. To mitigate possible psychological distress and fatigue, the researcher attended counselling with a registered psychologist on campus, twice a month and restricted the number of interviews conducted per day to a maximum of three.

4.10.4 Safety procedures undertaken for the street homeless

Research procedures are codes of behaviour in a research study, developed to address risks related to emotional distress and physical challenges connected to the study (Draucker, Martsolf, & Poole 2009). Due sensitivity is exercised regarding potential threats and possible physical harm posed to participants by the study (Poole et al., 2009). Also, the study carries a medium risk as indicated in the approval from the ethics committee. The emergence of such threats could bring problems to the researcher, the participants, collection of data, holding of the data, and/ or dissemination of research results (Draucker et al., 2009). According to Draucker et al. (2009), individuals who take part in research exploring traumatic events may experience anxiety, depression, embarrassment, and/ or acute stress reactions as they recall, re-examine, and reveal their lived experiences.

The researcher was sensitive to the potential of this research leading to stigmatization, and or dissemination of the findings harming the participants (Draucker et al., 2009). It was therefore important to identify and minimize potential risks to ensure that the benefits of the research outweigh the risks (Draucker et al., 2009). The researcher carried out the following protocols:

4.10.5 Distress procedures

A social worker was organised from the Metro Evangelic Services (MES) – a non-profit organisation within the Bellville area that provides shelter for the people living on the streets.

Additionally, I also organised a counselling psychologist from the Omega Foundation (a privately owned institution). The above-mentioned professionals availed their services to meet the emotional needs of the street homeless participants, should they be required.

The research participants were thus able to choose the option that would not compromise their safety, at no cost to them. To simplify this process, the researcher went to the MES offices to meet with the social worker and asked her to assist her with the research. An official letter approved by the organisation was received from the social worker. The same steps assisted the researcher to obtain a counselling psychologist at Omega Foundation.

The letters from the social worker at MES and from a psychologist at Omega Foundation, confirming their willingness to assist with referrals were submitted to the ethics committee at Stellenbosch University. It is important to note that there are no suitable models or templates in the literature concerning the structure of the protocols that were generated (Draucker et al., 2009). The emphasis on the protocols was on the availability of services at no cost to the research participants. This gave the participants the freedom to choose whatever they were comfortable with, should they indicate the desire to pursue counselling (Draucker et al., 2009).

4.10.6 Physical procedures

The potential physical and psychological impact of the participants' descriptions of their lived experiences on the researcher were considered (McCosker, Barnard, & Gerber, 2001). In consideration of the researcher's physical safety, a basic cell phone device was purchased and used while she was on the field. She then put on an emergency dial the contact number of the law enforcement agency. The phone always stayed on during recruitment, and the scheduled recruitment was undertaken during normal business hours, between 10:00 am to 1:00 pm.

To mitigate psychological distress, the researcher attended counselling with a registered psychologist on campus, twice a month. This mitigated the impact of shared life experiences on her emotional capacity (McCosker et al., 2001). Another decision made was to minimize the number of interviews conducted, not exceeding three interviews per day. This prevented exhaustion and the overwhelming nature of the interviewee's life experiences (McCosker at all., 2001). It is important to note that there is currently no recommendation to guide the researcher concerning the above-mentioned decisions (McCosker et al., 2001). However, the physical safety protocol was submitted to the ethics committee before the commencement of the recruitment process.

Chapter 5 Results and Findings

This chapter presents the findings and my analysis of the interviews that I conducted with eleven people living on the streets of urban Cape Town. I also present the findings of semi-structured interviews that I conducted with two government officials who supply reintegration services to the street homeless people in urban Cape Town. Firstly, I present the demographic summary of the participants, both the people who are living on the street and the government officials who took part in this study in Tables 5.1 Table 5.2. Secondly, I present a brief overview of the themes which highlight the past, present, and future directionality of the participants' experiences. Thirdly, I present the experiences of government officials, and the chapter ends with a summary of the findings.

5.1. Demographic details of the research participants

The research participants in Table 5.1 were people living on the streets at the time of the interviews and were aged between 24 and 49 years old (i.e., normal working age). In total, eleven individual interviews were conducted, which included five males and six females, of whom ten participants (four males and six females) identified as coloured people. One male participant described himself as black. Five female participants were mothers with children, and their children were staying with their families. Out of all the male participants in my research, only one participant was a father with one son, and he lived with him on the streets. The longest number of years lived on the street was 30 years and the shortest was 3 years, as articulated by the participants. The longest number of years lived on the street for males is consistent with current literature. According to May (2000), males live longer on the street due to shelter preferences. Shelters prefer and prioritize females with children over males. However, in this study, these variations could be connected to the disposition of an individual to street homelessness. For example, Beplar, who has lived on the street for 22 years, described the early start of his homelessness due to his father's behavior. His father stopped him from

going to school at age seven and would instead bring him to Bellville to beg for money at the traffic lights. On the other hand, Charlene, who was homeless for the longest amongst the women, moved to the streets with her mother at the age of 14 when her mother lost her job.

Most of the participants were coloured persons, and according to a study conducted in Cape Town from July 2014 to August 2015, 60 percent of people who are homeless were coloured persons and 24 percent were black persons (Hendricks, Gideon, Mkhwanazi, Rodriguez, & van Wyk, 2015). However, it is important to note that the race category was not used to prove the number of people living on the streets in terms of race. Instead, race was used as an inclusion criterion because the study focused on previously racially disadvantaged groups. Even though the focus area of the study is outlined in the methodology chapter, it is important to note that although the participants were found in Bellville, it is not to say they permanently live on the streets in Bellville. Urban Cape Town considers street homeless from Central Business District (CBD), Hout Bay, and Bellville, as outlined in the methodology chapter. The street homeless participants in this study were found in Bellville scouting for resources, such as cardboard for recycling and sleeping purposes; an implication that the street homeless have no fixed address (Bourlessas, 2018). This is because people who are living on the streets are highly mobile and are often removed due to urban management (Johnsen, Fitzpatrick, & Watts, 2018).

Table 5:1

Demographic summary of street homeless participants

Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Race	Years lived on the street
Father and son	Male	49	Coloured	30 years
Beplar	Male	29	Coloured	22 years
Deon	Male	31	Coloured	21 years
Mabhuti	Male	28	Black	18 years
Merlin	Male	24	Coloured	6 years
Charlene	Female	28	Coloured	14 years
Lee	Female	34	Coloured	12 years
Breeva	Female	28	Coloured	11 years
Nella	Female	58	Coloured	6 years
Gaynohl	Female	34	Coloured	3 years
Mera	Female	30	Coloured	3 years

The research participants in Table 5.2 are the government officials who were working for the Department of Social Development and Early Childhood Development Directorate (DSDECD) in Cape Town. The government officials had both been in the office for five years at the time of the interviews. In total, I conducted two interviews with government officials, government official 1 is a black female working as a Reintegration Officer (RO), and government official 2 is a black male working as a Field Officer (FO). Government official 1 has been an integration officer before working for the City of Cape Town Social Development; she worked at NICRO. The participants' race category and their native language, isiXhosa, expressed concern as 60 percent of Cape Town homeless people coloured (Hendricks et al., 2015). Most people who are homeless in Cape Town speak Afrikaans to other languages, this may suggest that they are more at ease and capable of expressing themselves in Afrikaans.

Table 5:2

Demographic summary of government officials

Pseudonyms	**Gender**	**Race**	**Position in office**	**Years in the office**
Gov-official 1	Female	Black	Reintegration officer	5 years
Gov-official 2	Male	Black	Field officer	5 years

5.2. Findings

This study found street homelessness to be a complex, personal, social, economic, political, and meaning-making phenomenon that can be endured for several years. Street homelessness seemed to have the potential to alter a person's way of existence, identity, relationships, and understanding of the world. In my analysis of the data, I have followed the guidance of Braun & Clarke (2006) and Heidegger's method of interpretation (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015).

In Table 5.3, I thus present the fundamental dimensions of dasein (past, present, and future) aligned with thematic interpretation. To use temporality as a lens, the themes are organized to reveal the past, present, and future directionality of the participants' experiences (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015; Pascal, 2010). I was, therefore, able to explore the participants' lives before moving to the street (past); their lives on the streets (present); and their wellbeing (future) thus being consistent with Heidegger's concept of temporality (Heidegger, 1927, 2011; Horrigan-Kelly et al, 2015). I used verbatim quotations or extracts as the central focus of my interpretation and discussion of my findings. Some of the themes incorporate direct quotations from the data, meaning that an inductive approach was used (Braun & Clarke 2006). The purpose of this approach is to allow participants' expressions to shape the findings and to enhance the meaning of each theme. Additionally, these quotations stand for the feelings and beliefs of the participants, therefore, to preserve their meaning, extracts were not corrected. I shortened some of the extracts and used ellipses showing where the text has been removed. The identifiers, such as age, gender, and the number of years on the streets stand for the participants who supplied the narrative and are presented at the end of each data extract.

Table 5:3

Thematic map representing the participant's lived experiences

The past: Life before the streets	
Sub-themes	**Category**
1. A loss of a home: Grief, loss, and separation. **2. Deterioration of relationships in the family system.**	• An absence of love from significant others. • Lack of parental support and protection.
The present: Life on the streets	
Sub-themes	**Category**
1. "We are not the same" – Being blended with criminals and dehumanized. **2. "Your mindset they take out" - Surviving on the streets.** **3. "It's crazy you cannot live with it" – Living in a state of fear.**	• Being blended with criminals • Labeling and dehumanization
The future: A positive outlook towards the future	
Sub-themes	**Category**
1. **Being a responsible parent** 2. **Longing for a better life**	

5.3. The past: Life before the streets

Under this theme, I discuss the experiences before moving to the streets as revealed in the participants' narratives. In this section participants were asked how they ended up living on the streets. The influence of earlier life experiences is important in understanding homelessness. There is something from which a person is "thrown," or a story to be told about how an individual gets to be where they

are (Withy, 2014, p. 67). Major contributors to homelessness were family of origin experiences such as the death of the parents and the deterioration of relationships in the family systems.

5.3.1. A loss of a home: Grief, loss, and separation

The participants in this section reported how they transitioned from being housed to being homeless. These participants reported that they are living on the streets because their parents died, and their houses were sold. The following quotes illustrate this point:

Mabhuti, a 28-year-old male who has been living on the streets for 18 years elaborates:

First thing now Delft, and then after that when my mother died, I went there Kasteelpoort, the house was also selling, and I went out, up to there I came to sleep outside, and I grew up on the streets… (Mabhuti, 28-year-old male, 18 years on the streets).

Gaynohl, a 34-year-old female who has been living on the streets for three years, describes the loss she feels:

Aah (sigh) when my parents died, and we lost the house, my aunt sold it, bought it eventually we had to, we are four girls, we had to choose our separate ways…I went to stay by my boyfriend cause I had a child with him, his mother allowed it that time but weren't sleeping together, you see, she told, you know mos how daughter in-laws and their mom's in-laws, things got a bit tough and so, so I didn't want her to put him out, okay, because uhm she is a good mother and a good grandmother. I wasn't working at the time, and of course I was also a bit rude at the time to her and so, so I told them I'm rather going to look for me and a place....three days after I went to my aunt, my mother in law already phone my aunt, and she bad mouth me, so the time there after I went to my aunt yoh I knock on the door and the door opens and its wah-wah (shouting) just get out of here, just go away, I don't need, the mother in law whatsoever, from that day I said family mm, I would rather be on my

own, rather be with people, uhm nearby people is caring, loving and supportive, not what my family is, my family is the opposite of it. (Gaynohl, 34-year-old female, three years on the street).

Father and son, a 49-year-old male who has been living on the streets for thirty years expands:

Yes, I was here in Bellville I was born, in Bellville South, I was staying there in Stillvan, and in the flats in Bellville South, yes, yes, come up to visit after a couple of years I was in prison. I come out and see my father died and mother died there between, and some of the ways my mother was by my father's house, her father's house, and she was looking after the house and I was there by that house, and then I come out of prison and that they buy the house out of nowhere out of force, and that's the way I come back to the street. And now my living going on without knowing where my own family apart from growing up to live with them, and life was taking me away from the living on earth to prison, and that's the kind of way I move to the streets. I lose everything, half of mother and father, niece, niece, lovers, I cannot forget, without living with it, because we are 11 people, and I am the youngest in the house. (Father and son, 49-year-old male, 30 years on the street).

Mabuti had no place to go and Gaynohl was separated from her family. Father and son reported that he is homeless because the house was forcefully taken away from him when his parents died. Thus, he finds himself disconnected from his family, as his home was the key to his identity. Mabhuti, Gaynohl, and Father and son reveal that the death of their parents ultimately led to the loss of a home. This finding is consistent with that of Cross and Seager (2010), who, in their research, also found that in South Africa people are homeless due to family factors such as deaths, disputes, marriage, divorce, family relationships, and family influence.

However, death alone does not lead to homelessness. The selling of the houses exposes powerlessness on the part of the participants to keep their homes. According to Heidegger (1927, 2011), existence is sometimes represented in a simplified way; that man can freely choose. Yet, as has been highlighted by these extracts, Mabhuti, Gaynohl, and Father and son seem to find themselves already in a world

in which human possibility or freedom is limited. Therefore, the limited possibilities as has been expressed by the participants could be responsible for their homelessness. Later in the interview, Gaynohl also said that she could not stay with her sisters as she felt she was a liability.

It wasn't like it was my mother for us to carry it on and things like that, but my other three sisters they were well off because they did work at the time, at great jobs and so. I was like black sheep as they call it, the youngest. They have their own families, all three are married as well. I don't want to, like be a burden on my sisters because in the house, my mother, with my mother, I was already a burden because they were {} for me, financing me. After all, I was in school all that time. I wasn't working, and my mother wasn't working as well. (Gaynohl, 34-year-old female, three years on the street).

Gaynohl's sisters sold the house because they had their homes. Therefore, as a result of the death of her parents, Gaynohl found herself in a materially and historically conditioned environment; in short, the spaces of possibilities are limited for people who are homeless (Sherman, 2009). The house was sold; thus, showing that context has a major influence on the choices a person makes because some options are available, and others are not (Connelly, 2015).

Father and son elaborates on the material and historically conditioned environment in which he and other participants are thrown. Father and son in this part of the interview was explaining why some people including himself are homeless.

Some of that is government, must be given that, you must go out of the house, you cannot pay rent, but also is not responsible, but for them is sponsoring to take it, but in this system, there was the ANC also in working that stuff, I was a part of it. When they try to set people up without houses, we come and trap open, let the people in. We attack them with that story, giving them the reason why, how they get that house. Now we sponsor for them for a house and why you see people cannot move further

to pay rent, now you put them out, for what reason? (Father and son, 49-year-old male, 30 years on the streets).

According to Father and son, the South African government sets people up without housing; housing is sponsored when there is a guarantee to make payments. In support of this claim, according to Cirolia (2014), the South African government offers subsidized housing, known as RDP housing, to households who earn less than R3500 a month. The fact that houses were sold or bought by relatives who can afford them shows that failure to do so can result in the house being forcefully taken from a person. Father and son thus exposes a flaw in the current housing policy or RDP policy in that it predisposes people to homelessness. People who cannot afford to pay their bonds or rentals are evicted and excluded (Tenai & Mbewu, 2020). Father and son highlights that despite the right to housing for all South Africans as enshrined in the democratic Constitution (Naidoo, 2010) people with no income will remain homeless in South Africa. According to Thorn (2008), since 1994 two million people have been evicted from their homes due to service arrears and inability to meet rental payments. Cross and Seager (2010) also mention in their study that ten percent of their respondents associated the lack of shelter and a lack of housing with evictions and forced removals.

From a Heideggerian perspective, Mabhuti, Gainohl, and Father and son reveal that being at home is more than just being housed, but existence in time with others that a person loves and depends on (Fry, 2005). Homelessness, therefore, shows itself as being "without a crucial point of reference from which one's self and the world can be comprehended" (Fry, 2005, p. 195). Also, highlighted in these extracts is what Heidegger (1927, 2011) calls facticity or thrownness, meaning that a person is always a product of the time (history), place, and culture within which he is born, lives, and dies (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015, p. 3; Connelly, 2015), as Mabhuti, Gaynohl, and Father and son have been thrown from being at 'home' with their families into homelessness, due to limited possibilities in context.

According to Heidegger (1927, 2011) the establishment of human settlements is the foundation of homelessness and a loss of worldly dwelling (Fry, 2005). The establishment of human settlements creates a structural distinction between a house and being-at-home-in-world (Fry, 2005). Human settlements create a fundamental shift from being world dwellers and being 'at home' in the world, to people who live in houses to which the claim of belonging is made (Fry, 2005). To create houses makes up "the world" as an exteriority; an endless source of resources to divide and conquer as reflected in the current land issues in South Africa (Fry, 2005, p.193). Thus, being homeless is a journey towards authentic existence; towards homemaking and being-at-home-in-the-world. Homelessness shows itself as a loss of house, but it is also a journey with no place of return and belonging in the world. Homeless people claim the world that once sustained them with the barest of material resources and new ways of belonging (Fry, 2005). Therefore, the way homeless people live resist the contemporary ways of belonging, the circumstances in which they find themselves, such as the diminishment of their humanity and dignity (Fry, 2005).

5.3.2. Deterioration of relationships in the family system

In this section, participants' narratives reveal that people are living on the streets because they are seeking a future of caring and accepting relationships. The participants' narratives reveal that lack of affection from significant others and a lack of parental support and protection is significantly connected to their decision to move to the streets.

5.3.2.1. An absence of love from significant others

The following extracts reveal that a house is not always home when it lacks warmth, care, and nurturing qualities. There are additional components that must be incorporated to make a house a home.

Merlin, a 24-year-old male who has been living on the streets for six years, elaborates:

Me, I am 24, I have a brother, my brother stay also on the streets, my brother is 37 years old, my sister stay in Blackheath, my younger sister stay in Blackheath, my second one stay in Brackenfell, and my older sister stays in Malmesbury, Malmesbury, and so, why me here on the street, my family passed away, my aunties just drink, and is not, there is no, how can I say, love, there is no feeling for me by the home, and any questions I ask, my aunt, she doesn't answer me, and me I didn't eat there, so she didn't worry about me, so, me was small, that's the time my father passed away, I was on the streets, my mother passed away, two weeks ago he told me, my mother passed away, the time already my mother is underground…(Merlin, 24-years-old male, six years on the streets).

Merlin reports that he moved to the streets because he experienced a lack of love at home after his parents died. He defines a home as a place where one is seen and loved. Instead, his aunts drank alcohol and did not pay attention to his needs, and thus he felt neglected. Ward and Seager (2010) in their survey of street children in South Africa found that poor family relationships fueled by alcohol contribute to a child leaving his or her home.

According to Heidegger (1927, 2011), homelessness is defined not only by the absence of a physical dwelling, but by the loss of one's own being. Merlin is unable to achieve a sense of dwelling in the house, as shown in the excerpt, even though he is literary sheltered. As a result, Merlin's decision to leave his home could be rooted in homelessness, an inner state of homelessness. This echoes Manzo (2003)'s view that people can feel inside in non-home places and outside at home. Also, later in the interview, Merlin revealed that he first moved to the streets at the age of 12 in search of his father.

Me, I was a small child, that time my father passed away, me is 24 now, I asked my mother, 12 years old, I asked my mother, where is my father, where is my father. My mother did not want to tell me, she sent me to Ouma. I say, Ouma, my Ouma tell, "child you were small just the time your father passed away". I told my Ouma, lying, Ouma lying, something like that, but I don't know how to look for my father, I just look at the photo. (Merlin, a 24-year-old male, six years on the streets).

Similarly, Ward and Seager (2010) found that some children leave their homes in search of their parents. Also, Phillips (2012) found in his study that unstable and poor household upbringing contributes to people living their lives on the streets. Poor functioning family systems during childhood can contribute to children running away from their homes (Makiwane, Tamasane, & Schneider, 2010). Moreover, it is unlikely that children will leave a happy home but staying away can indicate hurt and disappointment.

This extract also reveals that people can be settled, living in a house, but struggle to feel that they belong (Manzo, 2003). As a result, while being homeless, it is possible to experience an intense sense of place, attachment, and bond (Manzo, 2003). Merlin's decision to leave the house appears to be motivated by the loneliness he feels at home, as well as the emptiness he feels because of his parent's deaths. Therefore, the extract may be implying that people cannot return to their previous state of homelessness; in Merlin's case, a place where he felt unloved and unnoticed. Merlin elaborates in the following extracts:

I get my aunty here in Bellville, then she asked me, for six years you no here by the home, all the people miss you, why you didn't come home? and I tell, why I must come home, for there is no love for me there?" (Merlin, a 24-year-old male, 6 years on the streets).

Hills et al. (2016) also found that youth in South Africa stay on the streets for a longer period in comparison to other developing countries. The number of years spent supporting themselves on the streets seems to make them forget about their families. Likewise, Deon, a 31-year-old male who has been living on the streets for 21 years, did not care about the shame his family felt to see him living on the streets because he was completely independent from them. Deon illustrates this point:

Most of the people I can see they not feeling nice because I get my family a lot also am here in Bellville, my aunties, my uncles, my cousins, my nephews and things like that, and they see me, I say fock, I'm not, why must I be shy for them, fock them I don't care, I don't go by the house and knock

on the door and ask something to eat, not love them, I don't care about them, ja." (Deon, a 31-year-old male, 21 years on the street).

Merlin and Deon expose that the lack of affection they experienced not only pushed them into the streets but also drove them away from their families. Merlin and Deon reveal that they do not have to live in a house to belong (Manzo, 2003). The emphasis that people belong only when they live in a house negates the idea that people are at home in the world (Fry, 2005). In the following extract, Deon explains why he lives on the street apart from his family:

It just because I'm of stepfather, my stepfather was taking my mother away from the house, and then he tells the mother she must sell the house. All of that kind like that, and then me I just go come to the streets, and early I come to live on the streets…the first time my mother did come here, it was in 2014, and then she comes and sees me. The first time she comes and sees me on the streets. Then she comes and tells me she lives in Bredasdorp there by her the husband's family in a bungalow in the yard. So they are staying there now, and then I tell her, now you could see, out of a house you must go and stay in a bungalow now, what, that is not right and your kids are staying on the streets. One is in prison, one is on the streets, and now, what are you thinking now neh? And I asked my mother just like that, what are you thinking, are you not a parent or whatever? You don't have a heart or what? Then she starts crying, crying because I was asking mos the right questions mos now… So now I don't care, I don't worry about any family anymore, I am happy where I am, on the streets with these people that I stay with and so (Deon, 31-year-old male, 21 years on the streets).

Deon reports that he is happy where he is, on the streets, with his new connections. This extract reveals that street people can act as a buffer for lost family relationships; hence participants do not worry about returning to their families. Often, people who have undergone similar life experiences tend to provide the most effective and immediate bond, because they share a history of adverse experiences that can form the nucleus for regaining a sense of community (Goodman, Saxe, &

Harvey, 1991). The groups thus become a safe place to reveal past and painful experiences. Family disintegration has been reported to be one of the contributors to the growing number of street homeless people in South Africa (Cross & Seager, 2010; Tenai & Mbewu, 2019). Nonetheless, few studies specifically mention stepfamilies. Ward and Seager (2010) found that boys do not have happy relationships with stepparents. Some studies mention divorce, which is related and underlines most stepfamilies[7], as the reason youth runs away from home (Cross & Seager, 2010). Other participants refer to an intolerable home situation where they experience a lack of protection from their parents as revealed by the following extracts.

5.3.2.2. Lack of parental support and protection

The participants report a lack of parental support and protection as one of the adverse experiences that lead to them moving to the streets.

Lee, a 34-year-old female who has been living on the streets for twelve years, elaborates:

Me and uncle we were having an argument, and so I lift the knife for him, so the time I lift the knife we were getting uhm we live each other so, the night then before I sleep, I skel (shout), I was asking my mother that she must pick me or between her brother, and so she didn't give me the answer, so the next day I decided that maybe I must go away because then I will do something, and it's not gonna be right, so I end up here in Bellville." (Lee, a 34-year-old male, 12 years on the streets).

Lee's decision to leave her home reveals that a house is not a home without a sense of security and a feeling of belonging. She seems to have expected her mother to take her side in the argument with her uncle. Instead, her mother kept quiet. Subsequently, the lack of support from her mother seems to have made her feel insecure about her sense of belonging. This extract reveals that parents play a

[7] According to King and Boyd (2015), stepfamilies form when mothers and fathers choose new partners, and children in these relationships might not have a say.

vital role in protecting and helping their children feel that they belong. But, in some situations, parents are neglectful even when child abuse is present.

Mera, a 30-year-old female who has been living on the streets for three years, shares her story:

It is my stepfather, man, me, and he we not, every day we argue with each other. My mom can't say nothing, he wants to touch me, he wants, how can I say, want to make me his wife, do you see, I have long shouted for myself. Seeking to make me his wife and he shouts at me, my mother keeps quiet (Mera, 30-year-old female, three years on the streets).

In this extract, the mother was silent while her child was sexually abused by the stepfather. Ward and Seager (2010) also found in their study that girls were sexually abused by stepfathers or their mothers' boyfriends, while boys had vexed relationships with stepparents. Similarly, Somerville (2013), found that women leave their homes where they have been abused; being housed presents a potential for abuse for women, and living outside can be a solution. Similarly, this participant did not feel protected and cared for by her mother, and instead felt pushed away, hence she moved to live on the streets.

Charlene, a 28-year-old female who has been living on the streets for fourteen years, shares her story:

It was getting too much for me, I was thinking maybe I can get away, to stand-up, to look after myself, because that time my mother used to push me away for the guy she used to have, ja, she didn't take care of me that time, so I was like taking care of myself. (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

These extracts reveal a multidimensional character of street homelessness (Somerville, 2013), such as nurturing relationships, as the participants expressed a need for parental support and protection.

The findings in this study echo what Somerville (2013) says that homelessness is more than just a lack of shelter or a lack of abode; instead, it involves deprivation across several different dimensions, such as feeling a sense of belonging, parental love, feeling protected, and being in a nurturing

environment. Also, this section reflected what Moore (2007) says that homelessness is not the absence of a home; people can be homeless while being at home. Furthermore, the extracts support what Parsell and Parsell (2012) said, that homelessness is a rational choice, in that it is a conscious choice on the part of the individual who evaluates and abandons superficial relationships, to seek meaningful and fulfilling relationships. People seek meaningful relationships not only when there is a lack of shelter, but also at transitional phases when the family is required to reorganize itself. According to Heidegger (1927, 2011), human beings experience anxiety when they become aware that their existence can be thwarted, the potential to lose themselves and their world, and become nothing. These extracts reveal that the worlds that once provided security, growth, love, and nurturance for these participants eluded them; hence they moved to the streets.

This section focuses on temporality (the past) (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). The past can be summarized as a change in existence characterized by the loss of parents, loss of a home, and significant relationships. The move to the streets is thus not only a means of survival, but equally as a claim on the world and resistance to the circumstances in which the participants found themselves. The diminishment of their humanity, human dignity, and de-humanization is recoiled against, as will be revealed in the subsequent section.

5.4. The present – Life on the streets

This section explores the existence of street-homeless people with other entities, such as law enforcement agencies, the police, churches, business owners, and other organizations. In sharing their existence in the world as people who are street-homeless with broader societal others, the participants revealed how social norms associated with being homeless shape their existence. The shared existence was viewed in the context of being with both people who have a home and those who are homeless (Heidegger, 1927, 2011).

5.4.1. "We are not all the same" – Being blended with criminals and dehumanized

The exploration of the participants' lives before moving to the streets facilitated an understanding that before moving to the streets the participants were confronted with a range of complex problems, such as losing a home. As a result of these challenges, the participants moved to the streets, living outside, sleeping directly on the streets, in self-built structures, in public spaces. This type of living illustrates both an unusual alternative and a fundamental inadequacy in the functioning of society (Walter et al., 2015). A public display of a person's life for thirty years; the longest number of years endured and lived on the street in this study. However, even though the above-mentioned challenges contribute to people living outside, the public display of the lives of the people living on the streets, in turn, provokes the social order in today's society and makes people living on the street susceptible to various kinds of interpretations by the general public, police, business owners, government officials, and academics. It is rare to find interpretations of street homelessness that are informed by an individual's past experiences (Moore, 2007). For example, what is known about people who are homeless is influenced by their day-to-day lives, which are on public display (Parsell, 2011). The participants' narratives in the following section reveal more about these different interpretations.

5.4.1.1. Being blended with criminals

The participants share that there are many groups of people living on the streets. These people can be divided into homeless people, streetwalkers, criminals, and gangsters. Conversely, law enforcement agencies see all people living on the street as one group. They are unable to see who is street homeless, a streetwalker, a criminal, or a gangster, because they are all found living on the streets and consequently, are blended.

Father and son details:

Last night there was happen, another lady, is mental also, like to talk things, and she told me, and I told that captain there by the police station, no, you cannot push her every time out. Then the [8] VRCID put her there and there, and we feel we are protected here. If some put us and beat us and do that is wrong. But that lady she must get the other help, and our help is to put her in some of the places, and then she can try to get right, take her to Fluckenberg, or that side, provide everything, how she do it every day at every night in her sleep, and there in our sleep, some people make nonsense there and make nonsense for us, why police push all out, you see, but they say they cannot see who gangsters, streetwalker, and who street people are? You see, I told him you're right and I talked to that guy who is a coordinator of neighbourhood watch, there in Boston, he has a brown building, house, he is the fore sitter for the people, you see, an overlooker of all them, we talked to the same length, same rhythm, way, what we see, but how can you not make a plan to find out and to sift them? Is your streetwalker? Are you're a homeless person or street gangster or what? You must find the way if there come people who tell you a bunch of lies, white lies, and become took for street people, but is not, he is got a house, he insists the thing he is doing there push him there. Most of the people who the cops are chasing, everything, and talk about gangsters, are streetwalkers. Most of them, people is going there in the jail, people found out, maybe he was in the jail…we are not people who live here with people who have cases and cops are chasing, we are here for people who have a right to live and change his life… (Father and son, 49-year old male, 30 years on the streets).

According to Father and son, there are diverse groups of people found living on the streets, and these include gangsters, criminals, streetwalkers, and homeless people. Public protection services, such as the police, neighbourhood watch, and City Improvement District (CID), in this instance, Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID), push off all people found living on the street,

[8] VRCID is an acronym for Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District, a public safety initiative implemented by the City of Cape Town (Paasche et al., 2012).

including homeless people. Yet, according to Father and son, homeless people have a right to live on the street; to group them with criminals and push them out off the streets is an unfair practice. The police, neighbourhood watch, VRCID need to sift people before pushing them off the streets. According to Johnsen, Suzanne, Fitzpatrick, and Watts (2018), social control refers to a mode of power employed by society in response to behaviour or people regarded as problematic. The obvious form of social control in the above extract is the forced removal of street homeless people supported by the idea that the police and public safety securities are not able to tell the difference between the street homeless, criminals, and gangsters. Nevertheless, streets are the only available option for the homeless, and Father and son feels that law enforcement agencies need to make a plan to sift people found living on the streets, because they are different from criminals, gangsters, and streetwalkers; they are not the same. Father and son questions why they are being pushed off the streets, and why no efforts are made to separate them from these other groups. Father and son's narrative suggests that homeless people ought to be allowed to live on the streets, and only gangsters, streetwalkers, and criminals are to be removed, since homeless people do not have homes to go to, due to government evictions and family problems. They advocate that street life is a practical alternative for the transformation of their lives (Somerville, 2013). Therefore, it is an unfair practice to see people who are homeless as criminals instead of seeing them as people who have been driven onto the streets because of family challenges. Additionally, separating these groups of people could improve law enforcement approaches, and the adoption of strategies informed by people's circumstances (Walter et al., 2015).

According to Amster (2003), patterns of spatial exclusion and marginalization have existed throughout modern history. A similar trend toward restricting, regulating, and removing from public view persons commonly referred to categorically as the homeless seems to reemerge in cities that adopt anti-homeless legislation and spatial control (Amster, 2003). Also, Johnsen et al. (2018) found

that in England rough sleeping and begging is a punishable crime under the Vagrancy Act of 1824, but only when an individual refuses to use night shelters. In South Africa, grouping homeless people with criminals and gangsters can be seen as another strategy used to remove homeless people from the streets, as its intention seems to be to push people found living on the street out of the urban areas (Paasche et al., 2012; Parsell, 2011; Amster, 2003). People who are living on the street are not the same; there are personal problems that drive some people to be homeless.

Charlene explains:

Where else to go? How can I say, just to know that all of us that is there is not the same people, there is people that really want to get out of this life but it's just because of the situation, that is making them to be like the person that is in here… (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

Mabhuti echoes:

Some of them look at us, I look like a criminal to them. I know is not like that. Other people when looking, think I am a gangster, or I am trying to steal. No, I am not like that. The way they see me, the way I am to work, it's like I'm going to steal and to rob people, is not good (Mabhuti, a 28-year-old male, 18 years on the street).

Mabhuti reports that it is not good to be perceived as a criminal just because he is homeless. In the above extracts, the blending of people who are homeless reflects that law enforcement agencies are more inclined towards seeing people as criminals, gangsters, and or as streetwalkers, instead of as homeless people (Garland et al., 2010). This trend of pushing out all the people off the streets confirms the criminalization of homeless people (Garland et al., 2010). A study conducted in the USA reveals that despite laws enacted to prevent harm perpetrated against the homeless, the criminalization of homeless people rather than protecting them has been the prevailing policy (Garland et al., 2010). Another study conducted by Amster (2003) in Tempe, Arizona found that

homeless people were frequent subjects of demonization and criminalization and that contemporary measures reflect more advancements in patterns of regulatory commitment and casual brutality (Amster, 2003). Street homeless people are criminalized for the mere fact of living outside; instead of being protected from the criminals and gangsters found living on the streets (Garland et al., 2010). This implies that, according to law enforcement agencies, being a criminal is something someone displays (Parsell, 2011), as opposed to having committed a crime.

Mabuti explains:

Because you look, someone, when someone sleeping on the streets, oh, you see that one is a criminal, no, not all of us, we are not the same, there are people they want to change their life and go further. You understand, because, the issue, I can say, it's two of them, I used to sit with them, they change their lives. You can sometimes, sometimes that one is a criminal. No, not all of us (Mabhuti, a 28-year-old male, 18 years on the street).

Mera elaborates:

Sometimes VRCID also comes there, and they chase us away, but that security allows us to sleep there. It is right for us there, a safe corner, but there is a woman who lives in front, she calls VRCID and says we are a problem, we steal from people, but we do not steal from people, and they say we are dirty. We protect them, but they say we are criminals because we live outside, but we are not criminals, we protect people that sleep outside, people who have no house, and so on. I feel bad, I understand why they say so, we do not feel good when people say we are criminals, we are not criminals, we are people that do not have a house to stay in, things are not nice at home, hence we are outside, and it is not nice to be outside (Mera, 30-year old female, three years on the streets).

Mabhuti and Mera reiterate that they are not on the street for deviant purposes; instead, they are there due to personal challenges at home, such as not having a home to go to and to transform their lives. Besides, it is not pleasant to be homeless.

However, law enforcement agencies' inability to perceive the differences between the criminals, gangsters, streetwalkers, and the street homeless can be related to the enduring complex debate about what constitutes homelessness and who can and should be defined as homeless (Walter et al., 2015; Parsell, 2011; Schiff, 2003). This extract reaffirms the idea that people who are street homeless are different from criminals, gangsters, and streetwalkers, and such a difference cannot be drawn from their external appearance.

Breeva, a 28-year-old female who has been living on the streets for eleven years, echoes:

Not to see us in a bad way you see, we all not the same you see, there is good in us, yes, ja, we are not all bad, you see, no matter how that one is bad, you don't know, you can't just say because you were hearing that one is wrong unless you must start to know him, you must know the inner of him, all of us we not bad really. (Breeva, a 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

Charlene states that the good in homeless people can be seen when we get to know them. This proposition made by the homeless people, as revealed in the above extracts, which is to recognize the difference between homeless people, criminals, gangsters, and streetwalkers, is worth considering, yet despite participants' self-descriptions as street people or homeless people (Walter et al., 2015), they are still grouped with criminals and gangsters. The focus and treatment of the street homeless by law enforcement agencies seem to be related to the ill-fitting descriptions of homeless people (Parsell, 2011), hence the inability to tell the difference between a homeless person and a criminal. The participants' narratives, therefore, seem to accentuate the importance of self-descriptions versus

external descriptions[9] in strategies intended for people who are living on the streets (Walter et al., 2015). It is possible that the association of homeless people with criminals and gangsters are underlined by external descriptions and seems to imply that moving to the streets is one's negation of his or her circumstances and instead diverts attention to criminal attributes. Yet, an emphasis on internal description[10] can aid in understanding the inherent relationship between an individual's circumstances and homelessness, which are often unnoticed due to the focus on external descriptions.

Studies on homelessness show how extensive social and cultural values that prioritize individualism to the detriment of collective responsibility add to the misrepresentation of homeless people. This influences the nature of service delivery towards this population group (Parsell, 2011). Subsequently, definitions of homelessness are often dependent on whether the focus is on the development of social policy, enumeration, and/or allocation of resources (Walter et al., 2015). For example, if the focus is on enumeration and social policy, policymakers use a broader definition. This leads to more homeless people included in the social policy. However, when it comes to the allocation of resources, which in this case, is the use of urban spaces, policymakers use narrow definitions, which focus only on extreme forms of homeless, such as people fleeing domestic violence and people facing persistent housing instability. Subsequently, policymakers perceive other categories of homeless people as problematic (Walter et al., 2015). If external descriptions of homelessness depend on policy and the degree of control over resources, the likelihood is that external descriptions do not map individual self-descriptions. This clash can be problematic because people's self-descriptions may have important psychological and behavioral outcomes (Walter et al., 2015). Therefore, policies which

[9] External descriptions refer to identities ascribed or imposed to a person (Parsell, 2011).

[10] Internal description refers to identities enacted by an individual to represent a sense of who they are in relation to others (Parsell, 2011).

are based on the external understanding of homeless people will not meet the needs of this population and will thus be limited to reducing street homelessness.

According to Parsell (2011), internal descriptions can reveal how people who are homeless exercise their agency to enact elements of themselves. As it was an interest of this study to explore how people who are living on the street describe themselves concerning street homelessness, internal descriptions bring clarity to the ongoing debate of who can and should be classified as homeless. According to Chamberlain and Johnson (2011), the longer people are homeless, the more likely they are to identify with homelessness as a way of life, and thus develop a homeless identity. This homeless identity becomes an adaptive strategy, emotionally, and in social situations, because it acculturates an individual to life on the streets (Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011). This strategy also works to undermine efforts to exit homelessness (Somerville, 2013), yet it does not mean the street homeless become criminals and gangsters because they choose to remain on the streets. According to the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), there is a relationship between self-description and the social world (Walter et al., 2015). This relationship thus formulates the "self" in many different forms, such as in personal terms, "I" and in social terms as "We." (Walter et al., 2015). This illustrates that individual self-description can be regulated by the circumstances a person finds themselves in and by how they perceive themselves (Walter et al., 2015). Related to the participants in this study, ten out of the eleven self-described (Walter et al., 2015) as homeless people and/or as street people, but one participant rejected self-describing as a homeless person, instead, this participant defined home more subjectively (Mallet, 2004). This participant felt more at home while living outside than being at home with her family and relatives.

Gaynohl elaborates:

For me it's not actually that I am homeless, cause my mother always said the home is where your heart is, so if you are homeless that means you are heartless. So, if you don't have a heart for other

people, that's actually what homeless is. If you have a heart for other people then it's a home, it doesn't matter where it is, it doesn't matter how it looks, that is what my mother told me, many may think or take it home as a roof, no my dear, the same as the church, I go and visit many churches, I was born old apostolic but me I go visit, I am now Shoffa for the homeless, me I go visit many churches. I was in a Mosque but I will go there cause by me, its not what religion, it is the temple of God, it is the temple of your heart, so it's not the church, many has that church issue, it's about how you respond to God, how you feel because if you go and listen to the word of God, then you will go anywhere, that you can find the word of God. That is just the way I was brought up and I have that today. I am on the streets then I can add that to life….". (Gaynohl, 34-year-old female, 3 years on the streets).

Gaynohls reports that she is not homeless because she cares for people. This shows that a person's self-description may not reflect the actual situation (Parsell, 2011). Additionally, a person does not passively accept self-descriptions (Walter et al., 2015). According to the Social Identity Theory (SIT) as social psychological theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals are categorized as belonging to various groups, for example, being a student, a sports person, and other groups (Trepte & Loy, 2017). Alongside self-categorization, individuals evaluate groups they feel they belong to, as well as the groups they do not consider themselves as members of (Trepte & Loy, 2017). It is said that group members do these evaluations to determine in-group[11] and group[12] worth (Trepte & Loy, 2017). Although self-categorization can be characterized by something proper to describe an individual's situation, but people still manage their identities according to accepted practices and bystanders (Walter et al., 2015). The following participants emphasized that street people or homeless people

[11] In-group refers to groups that an individual feels him or her belongings to (Trepte & Loy, 2017).
[12] Out-group refers to groups that an individual does not consider him or herself as a member (Trepte & Loy, 2017).

are different from out-groups (Trepte & Loy, 2017), such as gangsters and criminals. To an extent, they are not associated with these other groups.

Father and son reports:

I know a part of that people, they talk also but they living in the street with another homeless girl, of the girl have a house, she comes around to push her mother, whatever it is, make a fool, and they come around as homeless people, but they are not homeless people. People insist what homeless is, they have insisted there are no ways they will go to some of their brothers and some of their sisters, is bad with them, and they don't like it and push him out, and even lose the house from government, aah, payment and that thing, is sensitive, that is how they come to the streets. This is how the people who are here, who are messenger, people who work with people do not look into that part, they come and search you around, and put it out, work that thing, but everything, you can put it out, but how did you know that people's background, and what makes you sore in their lives, what brings them to the streets. Is maybe the option of drugs, your thing or whatever, you must do that in steps, and try to find out, you must come to be, it's like, changes lives. She says to change the heart of the city but no change the heart of the people. What do you mean, change the heart of the city, if that word is a part of you, change the heart of the city for your sake? (Father and son, 49-year-old male, 30 years on the streets).

According to Father and son, being homeless is sensitive, as it signifies severed relationships with family members and one's economic position. He believes that decisions about them are made by law enforcement without considering the personal challenges that brought them to the streets. Instead, the emphasis is on changing the heart of the city. In this case, the significance of self-categorizing as street homeless people (Walters et al., 2015), seems to be related to economic and social rights. Furthermore, it can be related to the political climate that exists in South Africa, which results in people not having homes (Naidoo, 2010), as seen in the above extracts. People are given

houses, but when they cannot pay rent, they are pushed out (Thorn, 2008). Being associated with criminals, streetwalkers and gangsters normalize the expulsion of homeless people away from the streets. Therefore, external descriptions lead to blending street homeless people with criminals and gangsters and are limited in capturing the entirety of an individual's true self (Parsell, 2011).

This section reveals that there are many groups of people that are living daily on the streets. But not all the people are street homeless. Some of these people can be criminals, gangsters, or streetwalkers. For this reason, the street homeless advocate that law enforcement agencies need to sift out who the street homeless, gangsters, or criminals are, instead of blending them. Besides participants' experiences of being blended with other groups, they also expressed that they are often labeled as "bergies" which implies inferiority based on their appearance.

5.4.1.2. Labeling and dehumanization

Besides being blended with other groups of people found living on the streets, the participants shared that certain labels, such as being called "[13]bergies", are assigned to them by other people. According to Goffman (1963) stigma is a physical and social attribute that spoils an individual's identity, and thereafter disqualifies the individual from social acceptance. Stigma is said to exist when the accompanying interrelated parts merge when individuals recognize and label human differences; when prevailing cultural beliefs link the labeled person to unwanted qualities; the person labeled is placed in distinct categories to accomplish some degree of separation; and lastly, the labeled person experiences a loss of status and discrimination that leads to unequal outcomes (Link & Phelan, 2001). Being perceived as homeless can fuel discrimination, including being ignored, rejected, and

[13] The word "bergie" is a colloquial word used in South Africa to refer to people who are living on the street, who berg for a living.

dehumanized (Phelan et al., 1997). According to the research participants they experience the word "bergie" as stigmatizing and dehumanizing.

Deon elaborates:

No, aah, (silence), No, they say, just, look these bergies, maybe like that, ooh, words like that, ja, these bergies who sit here, dirty people, bergies is something that is dirty man, they are the people who walk dirty on the streets, ja that is the bergies. I don't like that name of bergies. They must say, look that homeless person, its homeless mos, not bergies, that word is very bad, bergies, to say for the people on the street. (Deon, a 31-year-old male, 21 years on the street).

Lee reports:

one day he was making me cry, then I cry, he is a big man, this guy was scratching in the drum, I call him and I say, I was like rude to him, and said, listen to me, I don't want to see you again scratching that thing, he was shocked at me, and he looked me like (demonstrating), I don't want to see you scratching there, and then I gave him R2, but before I give the R2, I cried because why uhm my father was also years ago on the street, and I, there was telling us, when we get home, the people who sleep outside we call them bergies, but the time when I was, it was adventure for me, the time I was come here, it was the names is different, it's now strollers, and uhm drifters, but I don't hear about bergies anymore, so the man of that day, who was scratching in the drums, now I was also sleeping mos outside, that day my heart get sore, even I said, hello we don't eat out of the drums, the people who is looking at us, if you scratching, you make us also people who scratch in the drum, so, I don't like it,… because, bergies means, you eating out of the drum. (Lee, a 34-year-old female, 12 years on the streets).

From these extracts, stigma is associated with an individual who is in opposition to a standard of a social unit, where a standard is characterized as a common conviction that a person should behave in

a certain way at a certain time (Link & Phelan, 2001). The participants have some attributes or characteristics, and a mark that conveys a social identity that is devalued in this social context (Link & Phelan, 2001). However, they do not appear to understand why they are perceived to be different; because, according to them, they did not drop their dignity when they moved to the streets. They believe that individuals who do not wash are not exclusively because of living outside, however, more to do with their values.

The perceived difference can be because the participants live in public spaces, which makes them more visible and more disruptive than people in other forms of homelessness, like those found in shacks, and people living with relatives and friends (Walter et al., 2015). Some homeless people may be aesthetically unappealing, hence these public feelings and reactions (Link & Phelan, 2001). The interplay between negotiating these kinds of labels and the constraining forces in context can be difficult for the participants (Walter et al., 2015). For example, the participants share that they are not allowed to draw water from the river to clean themselves, nor are they allowed to wash in public spaces. Subsequently, they are labeled as "bergies" due to uncleanliness and wearing dirty clothes. The use of words like "bergies" to refer to the street homeless fits the description of a stigmatizing label (Link & Phelan, 2001). The participants said that they do not like to be called "bergies"; because the word "bergie" insinuates that, *"they are dirty, they wear broken clothes and eat from the drums"*. The participants said that it is not fair to be called "bergies", because they go to great lengths to manage their true identities. They concur that they negotiate the incongruity between being called "bergies" and being homeless by keeping standards of living that are like those of the domiciled population group. They wash daily in the rivers, wear clean clothes, and buy food from recognized outlets. These efforts are intended to strengthen their social acceptance. Merlin elaborates:

I tell, you know neh, how many times people tell is bergies, or what, what all the people is not the same, you can see how they live, of live the same by the house or what, because there is so many who

do not want wash, do not want to clean their clothes, everything like that, that is the same they do by the house, they must do it also on the street, the people can see, are you a bergie or you, not a bergie. (Merlin, a 24-year-old male, six years on the streets).

In support of this argument, people who are living on the streets, even if they want to maintain the valued social norms, such as washing, wearing clean clothes, and eating clean food, their efforts to do so are constrained by law enforcement agencies, in compliance with city by-laws. Charlene explains the challenges she faces related to restrictions:

There are lots of many times that you get clothes and receive clothes and things from people, then when daytime, when you go and [14]skarrel, when you come back, your place where you left your staff, there you must hear law enforcement came to take it or VIRCID have come to take it, and there are many nights where you don't even have a blanket to sleep with because they came and take all our things, especial when they take all your clothes everything and for a woman, it's not easy when someone has taken all your things cause you have to get clean every day, but then when they come and take everything you won't even have a second panty to wear tomorrow morning. (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

This shows that many people have limited accurate information about homelessness (Walter et al., 2015). Moreover, public opinion tends to generalize about people who are living on the streets, yet their views of homeless people are emphatically influenced by a few profoundly obvious individuals (Walter et al., 2015).

Persistently, the street homeless continue to refine who they are to other people. They use social comparisons to negotiate their social acceptance. Social comparison is a process used by members of

[14] To "skarrel" is the colloquial word used to refer to scavenge for resources. It is common among people who are living on the streets.

an in-group to distinctly separate themselves from members of an out-group that has members that are similar (Walter et al., 2015).

Deon positively evaluates his group by maximizing the differences between the group he belongs to and members of the out-group, whom he looks down on (Trepte & Loy, 2017).

You know me, I did talk one day there one day with another white lady, ja just we were here by the library, and she was talking about someone else, did you see that bergie who was sitting there, thereby the station side, that one with the rasta hair, dirty looking, and I say, yes that is a bergie, that you can say that is a bergie, because the clothes are in broken here broken pants and everything is broken so, that's a bergie, and they don't wear shoes, so, that's what, that is a bergie…., yes, no you are right sister, that is a bergie that one, mm, because they don't want to wear the clothes that people bring them. Now they go and sell the stuff, which is wrong. (Deon, a 31-year-old male, 21 years on the street).

Deon compares himself to another homeless person to accentuate the idea that he has kept a domiciled identity. Similarly, Parsell (2011) found that homeless people use various strategies such as downward comparison to keeping favourable identities. Conversely, other participants seem to have internalized the label (Link & Phelan, 2001). Although Mera recognizes that labeling is wrong, she also admits that labeling is used by the public in relation to the fact that they are living outside; but at the same time feels their choices are limited.

I feel bad, I know why they say so, we do not feel good when people say we are bergies. We are not bergies… (Mera, 30-year-old female, 3 years on the streets).

Another internalization of the label can be reflected when there is a reduction in perceived life opportunities, increased isolation, and reinforced negative self-concept (Link & Phelan 2001). This

is evident in Mera's acceptance of food given to her by Somalians who live in the area, although the food was bad.

But sometimes the food is not right, you see they, they mix the food in, they throw bread in, rice, the chicken and whatever, you see, it's like the "gemos kos" (garbage food) (both I and participant laughing), they take us, say like, can I go deep, we are trash, they can give leftovers food.. (30-year-old female, 3 years on the streets).

Alternatively, other participants felt strongly about this labeling and perceived it as degrading. The participants did not understand where the perceived difference comes from. Charlene elaborates,

As a person just as how you treat a human being just to be like a person. I see myself as a person, but you see some people will come and say, "hey your bergie" and things like that... (28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

The above narratives reveal that efforts to negotiate and improve social acceptance are difficult. Participants try to keep principles like those of the domiciled population group, however, the prevailing forces make it difficult. They are assigned with labels of inferiority. Some participants feel trapped between understanding the source of labeling and limited choices, but homeless people do not like being called "bergies". To an extent, they try to negotiate these labels by making sure that their social appearance is not distinct from the domiciled population group. Efforts such as washing, wearing clean clothes, buying, and eating food from the shops, instead of from dust bins are made. Furthermore, participants try to educate the public through a process called social comparison, where they highlight the differences between themselves and those who do not share similar standards. Moreover, participants reject being labeled; they advocate that they have human qualities just like any other person. This section thus touches on the relationship between participants and other people in their social world. The section below explores the relational experiences between the participants and other entities, such as law enforcement agencies.

In this section, participants rejected being labelled as "bergies", instead self-categorized as homeless persons. These discoveries were consistent with those of Walter et al. (2015), who found that participants self-categorize as homeless due to the lack of a home, and/or not having access to housing that provided stability, security, privacy, and/or access to their own space. However, self–categorizing as a homeless person seemed to be more related to the personal circumstances the participants went through rather than lacking shelter. The section also supports Parsell (2011)'s claims that "people have considerable agency in determining which self-categorization is most fitting and appropriate; [that people] choose some self-categorization and reject others".

5.4.2. "Your mindset they take out" - Surviving on the street

The participants reveal that they are excluded from public safety initiatives. Instead, law enforcement agencies target them as if they are criminals and treat the street homeless as they see fit.

Father and son reports:

Ja when they see me when I try to speak to them, sometimes I'm sleeping there, I make them stand, they stand like, stand like someone who is on the double bunk, I make them speak like a president, or someone a cooperate speak. They stand like soldiers out of my sleep. I stand and come put the word in his book, what they doing, without I read it, that I know what is the purpose and the meaning, how you must treat people if you are that one who says. Why you wake up sleeping people and but you don't catch walking people? Why are you afraid of people who rob people in the daylight, and you are near and see it always but you are blind. That is not the way you do things, go to your job description, and do your job, don't put it on, or take it away and do your own stuff, I told him every time, that's your own way you come to us, you ride around and see your mis van 123 then it's the creatures, your own mindset they take out, call it public safety, what they think about us, they know we are homeless people, how they see us in the face but including in the other backside they work

with us, how come? It's not right, me I don't want to talk things (Father and son, a 49-year -old male, 30 years on the streets).

Father and son reports that law enforcement agencies ignore crimes committed in broad daylight, and but at night forcefully remove homeless people. The irregularities from law enforcement agencies make living on the streets difficult for people who are street homeless. Street homeless people are not included in public safety services; instead, they are perceived as a threat to public safety by law enforcement services. The findings in this study correspond with that of Amster (2003), who found that in Tempe, Arizona, the harassment, and discrimination of people living on the streets depends on the discretion of law enforcement agencies. Furthermore, Garland et al. (2010) found that in Maryland in the USA, the trend to criminalize rather than protect homeless people is a prevailing tendency. According to Garland et al (2010), this happens despite hate crime protection extended to homeless people. Additionally, it is difficult to live on the street because law enforcement agencies frighten and intimidate people who are street homeless. The following quotes illustrate this point:

Nella, a 58-year-old female who has been living on the streets for six years elaborates:

Spray us wet in the night, how can you, while people are in deep sleep spray them wet? They can get a shock, a shock, you can shock the heart, I was shaking that day, God, I, I can't think, God, I say to Bradley, him, I say, is it raining on your side? come and get, make a hole to look through, I do not know which side water is coming, we can think, I think I was drunk, and I say, then comes my, it was 5 o'clock, maybe now it's been three years ago" (Nella, a 58-year-old woman, 6 years on the streets).

Father and son reported:

They stand like soldiers, out of my sleep, I stand and I come to put the word in his book what they are doing, without I read it, that I know what is the purpose and the meaning, how you must treat people if you are that one who says. Why you wake up sleeping people, and, but you don't catch walking

people, why you afraid of people who rob people in the daylight, and you are near and see it always, but you are blind. That is not the way you do things, go to your job description, read your job description, and do your job, don't put it on, or take it away and do your own stuff (Father and Son, a 49-year-old male, 30 years on the streets).

Law enforcement agencies also ill-treat people who are street homeless because they put up shelters in urban areas. These findings correspond with those of Margot (2010), who found that in the UK, the USA, and Australia, police and city authorities destroy the makeshift shelters in the city as an attempt to drive people who are homeless off the streets. Likewise, Kelling (1999) cited in Amster (2003), admits that order and maintenance has a potential for abuse, since the police use vagrancy, loitering, and panhandling laws to guide their actions. Furthermore, the participants said that law enforcement agencies have no respect for them; they destroy their shelters and confiscate their personal belongings.

Breeva expands:

The law enforcement doesn't respect us you see, they take all our staff, we skarrel hard for that stuff, when you come back you see so ma your house, your whole house, the last time they steal my whole house with everything in it. I just see the sticks, four are sticks standing there. (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

Later, in another interview Nella adds:

They mustn't take the stuff they must only take the boxes and the plastic, but they take our clothes, they take your ID's and they do anything with you, they beat you with something, they shock you, this thing that they do I can't hold because why next year I am 60 years old, and I must come off from this place now, you see (Nella, a 58-year-old woman, six years on the streets).

Nella says law enforcement considers it appropriate to confiscate their personal belongings. Nonetheless, victimization drives the street homeless to steal.

Mera elaborates:

Now the VRCID pushes us to steal, force open the place where we feel safe, push us into a wrong way, to go and steal and all. We do not want to steal but they live us with no other choice, we cannot scout for resources thereby Durbanville road, then they take our boxes and all, I don't have clothes, because they took all my clothes, we do not have blankets, all-out stuff.. (Mera, 30-year-old female, three years on the streets).

Nella again expresses her frustration:

How am I to look for water, over, you can ask people for water, we cannot get water from the library, the tap is closed, I work too, I must buy water to wash, it's a difficult thing here, because, if you do not wash, the problem you feel uncomfortable man, I cannot be uncomfortable, I am a woman, I need to wash under, and I need to wash my mouths...yes, so that because you look like. Now when you don't go and wash, how are you going to speak with other people, your mouth, they will say, you, yes, I smell, I cannot speak with another person man, because I do not have work, look, it is a small change, but look, it is something (Nella, a 59-years-old female, 6 years on the streets).

From these extracts, social control makes it impossible to survive on the street without breaking the law. The laws implemented block most of the few available avenues to survive on the streets. However, these actions from law enforcement agencies are intended to protect the *"heart of the city"*, as expressed by Father and son. The commitment to remove the street homeless from urban areas is a radical neoliberal project intended to make the city "safe" and attractive for commercial activities, for shopping and tourism (Gowen, 2010). People who are street homeless in urban areas grapple between the sustainability of their lives and the prevailing modes of power (Johnsen et al., 2018).

Likewise, the use of defensive architecture to make the built environment less conducive to undesirable activities is one of the strategies implemented to prevent criminal activities, but it has far-reaching negative consequences (Johnsen et al., 2018; Kohler-Hausmann, 2007). To sleep outside without any blankets can be fatal; people can freeze to death. Therefore, urban restrictions and the modes of power mentioned in these extracts are stripping the street homeless people's intertwined rights of citizenship and participation in social and economic activities (Kohler-Hausmann, 2007). These modes of power and restrictions are further advanced by surveillance and policing of targeted areas (Kohler-Hausmann, 2007). The most known is urban renewal and protection of business interests associated with structural changes in urban spaces (Amster, 2003). The street homeless report being removed from an area they occupied, because the city was building a safe space, which is one of the shelters provided for the people who are homeless in the area.

No, first we used to be here at the back by the netball field, so now they came to remove us because they are busy building that MES thing there, so they have to remove all of us that side. (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

Although the reason for removing the people from these locations is to provide shelter facilities, urban renewal can also be some form of force under defensive or hostile architecture (Atkison & While 2015), especially when it renders areas used by the members of the street homeless population inaccessible. This form of force[15] removes the notion of non-compliance in these locations (Johnsen et al., 2018). Inadvertently, it is a form of force that coerces people who are living on the street to use shelters instead of their self-built structures, which are believed to defile the image of the city. Another episode of force is related to the upgrade of the Bellville library. The participants lived at the back of the library for some years. As a result of the upgrade, they were removed. Therefore, the

[15] Force refers to behaviour modification achieved by stripping off the choice between compliance and non-compliance (Parsell, 2011).

upgrade and inaccessibility of this area can resemble another form of defensive architecture (Johnsen et al., 2018). To emphasize the point, one participant shared how the restoration of a building he used was built in such a way that he could no longer sleep on its stoop because it was closed out. This can exemplify, "gating off of doorways" type of defensive architecture (Johnsen et al., 2018).

Deon explains:

I did stay here next to the library. All these people know me very well, I was here in Durban Road, thereby the tow, the better bed, and staff, on the stoep ja. Yes, there Aunti Rosie knows me very well. Yes, she knows me very well because if she comes in the morning and then I go in with her and maybe I go and clean the place inside for her and then she pays me, yes that is the way I was living, and so, because why that place it was burning out, yes of the Somalian shop next door it was getting burn inside the whole building burnt, yes and then he starts renovating it also there, and then he starts close and then and build it close, so it is close now there, that is why we are gone there (Deon, 31-year-old male, 21 years on the street).

Nevertheless, these approaches are confusing, for the people who are living on the street lack "homes", not shelters, therefore, it uses shelter and home interchangeable. Moreover, these measures are ineffective, in that they directly displace the street homeless from one location to another (Johnsen et al., 2018).

Charlene elaborates:

Ja, law enforcement still comes there and VRCID still also. You can't stay there because it's like, the business place there, and I understand because some people are not clean enough to keep the place clean enough you see. There are coincident (participant meant incidents) make the toilet everywhere or keep the place dirty, and that makes things difficult for us also now (Charlene, 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

Closed public toilets confirm the clean-up strategies often employed by the City of Cape Town and other Departments. People are then removed under the "clean-up" strategy, which could be another form of force, which diverts attention from the structural management of public spaces to an individual's hygiene standards. Furthermore, the closing of public toilets seems to take away human dignity and replace it with animalistic tendencies, such as the inability to hide or control their physical needs. This shows that spaces and places are constructed socially, economically, and politically; spatial injustice and the corresponding socio-economic exclusion is a working of capital to ensure spatial inequalities (De Beer, 2016). Besides law enforcement agencies, people who are street homeless are removed from public spaces by other people. Residents in these areas call for the Social Development City of Cape Town to remove the street homeless from their suburbs. The people in these suburbs perceive the street homeless people to be dirty, criminals, and thus endangering their surroundings.

Mera explains:

There is a woman who stays in front, she called VRCID and said we are a problem. We steal people's goods, but we do not steal people's goods, and she says the people are dirty. We protect them, but they say we are criminals because we live outside, but we are not criminals, we protect people who are sleeping outside who do not have a house to go, and so on (Mera, 30-year-old female, 3 years on the street).

Beplar, a 29-year-old male who has been living on the streets for 22 years explains:

Things are alright, but law enforcement they only come once, only they take from us is, only the material and stuff, that uhm, what we built our places ja because the government, the people told them you cannot take out stuff clothes and blankets, they must only because people when they driving, all the people they are focusing on our places and stuff, and ja, they are the people who phone the

people, they must come and break down, they are people who don't have hearts for us (Beplar, 29-year-old male, 22 years on the street).

Street homeless people in these extracts share their experiences of being removed from the public view (Amster, 2003), and relegated to less visible areas. Public requests arise from beliefs rather than facts (Amster, 2003), as seen in the above narratives. The public associate people who are street homeless with dirt, filth, decay, and disease (Gowen, 2010). Historically, people who moved around and used different forms of accommodation were called, "vagrants", because they were perceived to be sickly and suffering from many disorders such as mental illness, tuberculosis, typhus, cholera, too numerous to mention, and therefore, were despised (Amster, 2003). Nowadays, the word "vagrants" is used to depict images of gangsters, criminals, and drug addicts, and these are constitutive of street homeless people. Street homeless people are perceived as a threat to the public just because they live outside, yet to be relegated to high crime areas without shelter places the street homeless in harm's way to a greater degree than the general population (Garland et al., 2010). Street homeless people are more at risk of being victimized than they are of committing any criminal offenses (Amster, 2003). Therefore, homelessness is not only just to find shelter, but to also feel protected. This can be the reason street homeless people move to more affluent suburbs, where the likelihood of victimization is minimized by the presence of police, but when the street homeless persist in these suburbs, the public request enforced physical removals (Garland et al., 2010).

In Cape Town, the more street homeless people persist in occupying certain areas, the more likely it is that these areas will be depicted as hot spots instead of as homeless communities. It is the people in these neighbourhoods who see the street homeless as criminals and gangsters, hence, their removals. At the request of members of the public, (though none of the participants raised this issue)

homeless people can be arrested and fined under the vagrancy[16] laws, which prohibit the presence of undesirable people who are perceived to be a threat to people's lives and their property (Spocter, 2007). Fines and imprisonment have recently been tried by the Justice Department in Cape Town, whereby the street homeless and prostitutes are subjected to a fine, albeit only when an individual is directed to a safe space and does not take the offer (Murdie, 2010). These forced removals are justified when a street homeless person's actions have a detrimental impact on other people (Johnsen et al., 2018).

The scale of using these strategies varies from country to country but has been widely documented in North America and Australia (Adams, 2014). Hungary is supposed to be the principal nation in the world to encode the possibility of punishing homeless people in its constitution in 2013 (Bence & Udvarhelyi, 2013). In South Africa, Cape Town has implemented CID and private security firm G4S, to secure the inner-city from being polluted by the undesirable others (Samara, 2010). Subsequently, this has been followed by VRCID focusing on the safety of public areas in Bellville, a northern suburb of Cape Town. This VRCID is the one that participants reported vandalizes their self-built structures and confiscates their personal belongings in the above extracts.

Breeva elaborates:

The law enforcement doesn't respect us you see, they take all our staff, we skarrel hard for that stuff, when you come back you see so ma your house, your whole house, the last time they steal my whole

[16] Two pieces of legislation, which enacted and facilitated urban public space closures, were promulgated in 1974 and in 2003. The first was Ordinance 20 of 1974, promulgated on 29 November 1974 and published in The Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official gazette of 3 December 1974. All gazette urban public space closures from 7 February 1975 to 30 January 2004 were enacted under Ordinance 20 of 1974, after which the City of Cape Town by-law relating to the management and administration of the City of Cape Town's Immovable Property was utilized to enact urban public space closures. The City of Cape Town by-law was published in the Provincial Gazette of the Province of the Western Cape on 28 February 2003 and the first urban public space closure enacted under it took place on 13 February 2004 (Garland et al., 2010).

house with everything in it. I just see the sticks, four are sticks standing there. (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

Participants had the impression that they too were included in public protection. "*what they think about us, they know we are homeless people, how they see us in the face but including in the other backside they work with us, how come? It's not right, me I don't want to talk things"* the misconception could have arisen from the ambiguous relationship they have with VRCID securities. This relationship seems twofold, on the one hand, it blends the street homeless with other groups and thus criminalizes street homeless people. On the other hand, law enforcement sees the street homeless as valuable sources of information to solve certain crimes. Based on this kind of conduct from the law enforcement agencies, the street homeless feel used, like their "mindset" has been taken away. This is a consequence of the mismanagement of roles by law enforcement officials. Also, the harsh strategies are unbearable to the extent that participants felt conditioned to steal (Kohler-Hausmann, 2007).

5.4.3. "It's crazy you cannot live with it" - Living in a state of fear

People who are street homeless are saturated by dangers from their cohorts (Garland et al., 2010), such as those that they consider to be criminals, streetwalkers, and gangsters. According to Snow and Anderson (1993), most homeless victimization comes from within the homeless population. Simply passing time on the streets increases the odds of being directly or indirectly exposed to crimes and victimization (Snow & Anderson, 1993). It is important to note that participants in this study who shared sensitive information about being sexually assaulted while living on the streets were informed that if they require assistance, a social worker and a psychologist would be available to them at no cost. The participants in this research reported that living on the streets is dangerous and their positions make them fear for their lives. Mabhuti elaborates:

Sister it is not safe on the streets, you know that, your life is in danger, you, because the people maybe they can just come to stop cars you see, people jumping out with guns and stuff, or gangsters coming and things like that, and they come and beat the people. Because that thing, ja, it was happening here… (Mabhuti, 28-year-old male, 18 years on the street).

Merlin adds:

I feel actually not safe outside, because many things happen, now there is people, yesterday, (yawning) you see, over the robot, they shoot two people of one time dead, shoot two people one time dead, during the day, that is why I tell my brother you must see all the things that happen on the street, you must not take it like paper, this is it or what, it is not difficult for that, because they going to do it in the night with you also, you didn't know maybe when they going to take your life. (Merlin, a 24-year-old male, six years on the streets).

The participants in this section express heightened fear due to the exposure to violent crimes and victimization while living outside. Likewise, some researchers have found that proximity to high crime zones and exclusion from public protection make homeless people vulnerable (Fitzpatrick, Gory, & Ritchey, 1993). Paradoxically, their lives are also at risk from law enforcement agencies as Father and son explains:

VRCID that small government was beating people until he is dead, pastor Rob buried two of the Presbyterian church, it is a disgrace. How gonna feel those people's, people going to feel, son and daughter? How if they are also in that people, or what the people in the family, it is crazy, you cannot live with it (Father and son, 49-year-old male, 30 years on the streets).

Nella elaborates further:

They say they must do it because it is work they must do, but the people say no, you can't do it, you are the safe people who must look after people, you don't shock the people and beat people like this

(client clapped). Now in this year neh, they make people dead, where? here in Bellville, nothing is coming from, nothing comes from that, from that thing, they walk to talk with the police work together, some of the people with this thing, I know, maybe the government is involved, beat people dead, and nothing comes from that, there before but I am going out of here, I am not coming out. I am tired of being here, I am not sure about life... (Nella, 58-year-old woman, 6 years on the streets).

Besides being in these high crime zones, it has been documented that criminalization of the street homeless population is often condemnatory (Atkinson & While 2015). Therefore, social control measures toward the street homeless are cruel (Atkinson & While 2015).

Actions such as these make it difficult to assess the legitimacy of the interventions employed towards the street homeless. These acts of cruelty are not limited to law enforcement agencies; the public has also been responsible for violent crimes towards the street homeless, especially towards women.

Charlene explains:

Once I got raped already me and my friend by two, now, now two African, now we know the guys it was two guys, we were, it was around 10 we went to go buy us food, there used to be a pizza place here in Durban road and the pub was here in front by Cheers, so then we go and ask people for money in the night by the pharmacy, and then when we get enough we and buy food, so on our way, these two guys, he had a gun and so they threatened me and my friend and took us there at the back of the library and raped us here behind the library and afterward they tell us they gonna go put us on the streets we have to go and sell ourselves and come back and bring them the money (Charlene, 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

Breeva echoes:

It was not nice, because I'm new, I don't know, me I don't know-how, how to do it, you see, I become a lot of stuff aware, you see, I was raped, a lot, I was even hijacked, all that crime stuff here, most of

the girls get raped and then they get killed...Nothing will come because they say we do illegal stuff, sometimes, when you are coming, the man is easier with you, sometimes you say this person does not want to pay me because we do business, they will say, no we can do nothing, because why, you are doing an illegal thing to sell your body (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

In these narratives, the street homeless women are victims of rape from the public. The participants were sexually violated by men who are not living on the streets. Some of the rape incidents reported here happened while the female participants were going around looking for food. Other sexual violations experienced by the female participants were related to being new to the street and trying out prostitution as a way of surviving (Snow & Anderson, 1993). Nevertheless, the participants were still excluded from public protection services. The police told the participants that the law does not protect people who do illegal activities. Such responses can impair the participants and endorse victimization. The evidence contained in these extracts' contrasts with the common perception of homeless people being the perpetrators of crime (Thomas, Gray, McGinty, 2012). The female participants lack protection, and this made them fear for their lives.

5.5. The future: A positive outlook towards the future

The previous section reveals that life on the streets is difficult. It elicits anxiety, uncertainty, and a lack of fulfillment in the participants' lives. In this section, the participants report that living on the streets prevents them from fulfilling certain roles, especially that of being a parent. The participants' goals and the direction of their lives were reflected through seeking opportunities to get out of the streets; to stop using drugs; a desire to be with their children and to find dignifying work to support themselves. These goals reveal what matters to the participants, as well as their perceptions of how to achieve them.

5.5.1. Being a responsible parent

The participants who are parents reveal that being separated from their children is difficult.

Breeva elaborates:

Then okay, I was thinking I can't uhm stay with my child outside, uhm, although I'm very close to her you see, but then, then I decide if I don't want to let her because they going to take my child here. I did give her to my boyfriend's mother ja, so that she can look after her, so ja if I do get something here on the streets ja, here you get a lot of money instead of me picking money stuff up and so then, I take it to my child you see, it's not easy for me she must pretend but I am here, but because I love her you see, I want to, I don't want to be without her, because if they take her away then I don't have a connection with her you see, that's the only way that I had to leave her there….I rather go work because I can't wait for you until every time you go to prison, I must wait for you, you see I have a life also. You must also, I don't think about myself, I think about my child also, you see, no matter I don't see stay by her (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

Breeva shares how she left her child behind because she does not want childcare services to disconnect her from the child. She wants to secure a life for herself and her child, even though she is not staying with her. Similarly, Dotson (2011) found that separation was a voluntary choice by mothers to protect their children. A study conducted in the USA found that only 65% of homeless mothers stay with their children at the onset of homelessness (Dotson, 2011). Nonetheless, research does not distinguish as to whether women who are categorized as single are separated from their children (Dotson, 2011). Therefore, the status of this issue may be underestimated. It is painful when a person is separated from their children. Mera's statement supports this point:

You see, I also want to be uhm, a mommy for my children, go work, and go, come every night at home, and go, who can I say, we can take them out or so, you see, (crying), I feel very painful (Mera,30-year-old female, three years on the streets).

Mera wants to support her children and be involved in their lives. However, the inability to provide for the children is discouraging. In the interview, Mera reports:

I don't want to go without money, but I, if I come there at least I have something to give them you see, that's why I don't want to go now. I don't want to go without money man, I want to go and give them something you see, uhm, or buy them something or so, you see. (Mera, 30-year-old female, three years on the streets).

Also, Lee feels that she cannot be involved in her child's life because she lost the respect of her child when she moved to the streets.

I cannot be involved now in his life, I must respect his uhm, but in a way me there, we have something in common, where his father and me, he and his grandmother, but now in this time this time, he is high school, he now growing up, he does not even want a kiss anymore, he says, other people mom, I think now, if you say this now, what is the other step, if you get a girlfriend now and she is pregnant but you not gonna come and tell me, so I must, I need, I must respect by the other part and I must get that, me and him we have a respect, there must be, there is other part that you must have that you must have a conversation also because I must win that back, and I must now earn it, I must try to have come in that and it's gonna be hard for me (Lee, 34-year-old female, 12 years on the streets).

Lee reports that living on the streets has made her lose the authority to speak to her child about relationships. She wants to regain this respect as her child is growing up. Similarly, Dotson (2011) found that women who voluntarily separated from their children see reunion as a possibility. The

research participants report that it is hard for people living on the streets to have good relationships with their children. Gaynohl also shares the importance of being a good role model for her daughter:

I must be strong, If I am not strong, what kind of a mother will my daughter be to her own child? I just want her to be a mother to her daughter and grandmother to her daughter. My mother was not a grandmother to my daughter. Actually, you must thank the streets, actually, they make you strong (34-year-old female, three years on the streets).

Gaynohl did not have a good relationship with her mother, and she is concerned about modeling good parenting methods in her daughter's life, to see her daughter loving her child.

This section reveals that it is painful for the participants to be separated or not be involved in their children's lives. The extract reveals that the participants genuinely love their children and desperately want to have normal, stable relationships with them. Nonetheless, research on single homeless women who are separated from their children is limited.

5.5.2. A longing for a better life

Participants shared that they are not happy on the streets because they live an undignified life.

Breeva reports:

Uhm, this is my, really, this year, in this year, I want to change, I don't want to be this, I don't, it really, no matter I must go out of Bellville, to change my life, cause I love myself, this is not the this is not what I want, you see, I deserve, I am nice lady, I deserve a better life, I also have a future and I am still young. I am willing to clean the streets, me even if, I am willing to clean out the streets, you see, I am willing to do anything. Give us the work in the shops, it's the work, just as long it's not to sell my body, or do anything like that you see…it's for to sell my body, ja, to be used, ja, it's not nice. I was, I really stop this, I really don't want to be used like this, it's all if you don't respect yourself, they not gonna respect you (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).

Breeva sees herself as a beautiful, young lady with a future, and believes that she deserves a better life; a life that dignifies and respects who she is as a person. She believes a decent job will give her the life she longs for, other than prostitution, which she believes degrades and disrespects who she is as a person. This participant demonstrates a positive attitude towards herself despite living her life on the streets. She opens herself to work opportunities because her main concern is to be respected instead of being used in prostitution. Likewise, Tweed, Biswas-Diener, and Lehman (2012) found that homeless people like themselves and are inclined to view themselves positively. However, regarding the pursuit of goals and a better life, the findings of this study are different from those of Thomas et al. (2012), who found that homeless people strive to maintain happiness with what they have and what they can attain in the present rather than focusing on wants or future goals. In this study, the participants believe that opportunities will come, and do not settle for life on the streets. Charlene expands:

That I will get an opportunity to stand on my own legs and would get a better life out of what I didn't have, I believe I will come, and be there where I want to be one day. There will come help that will help me to be where I want to be one day, and I believe that one day I will be where I want to be. (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).

Charlene believes that an opportunity will come and give her the life she never had. The participants move to the streets in the hope of standing up on their own and supporting themselves.

Beplar elaborates:

Bellville is the place of milk and honey, (laughing), ja, I was hoping to find a nice job, ja, to go back home and stuff. I got involved with wrong people you see, people of the streets changing me wrong, but the time I grow up, I say myself, I want to stop this life. How can I stop this life to get this drug out of my system? This drug you must get detox for, some people detox say for three days and some people for seven days, eight days…he is a miracle man, I must open my eyes because the same thing

can happen to me. I want to stop with this drug, but I need help to get to the rehab, that is the thing cause uhm, must change my life, 22 years it's painful. I want to get off from the streets because I am still young, I have a future, and I don't want to go home with this life. I stayed for too many years on the streets, but I will make a change I know there is change… (Beplar, 29-year-old male, 22 years on the streets).

Beplar says he moved to the streets in search of a better life, but the streets absorb him. People on the streets influence him negatively. Beplar mentioned that his brother died on the streets due to a drug overdose. However, his brother's death was like a wake-up call. The death of his brother made him realize the same thing can happen to him. He, therefore, feels that his brother was a 'miracle.' Drugs have had a hold on him for 22 years, and he is looking for an opportunity to stop using drugs, and to live a better life. There seems to be a sense of shame about going home while using drugs. This extract echoes the Heideggerian structure of "fallenness*",* described as a position where a person falls into an everyday mode of existence; absorption into the common world of experience that is most readily at-hand, as seen in Beplar's conformity to street life (Sherman, 2009). Furthermore, Beplar believes he is young and has a future. Hence, he is looking for an opportunity to transform, quit drugs, and be united with his family.

5.6. The experiences of government officials

This section documents the experiences of government officials who work with people who are homeless in urban Cape Town. Firstly, the themes generated focused on what is it like to be a government official working with people who are street homeless in urban Cape Town. Secondly, how do these experiences of government officials help to make sense of street homelessness in South Africa? It is important to note that only two government officials were interviewed for this study. Hence, I could not make any rigorous conclusions or interpretations from these interviews. The

conclusions and interpretations I made should be considered tentative and can be strengthened and explored further in future studies. Furthermore, the literature exploring the value of worker's experiences in homeless outreach projects is limited. Therefore, some of the work used to support the findings in this section dates to 1999. Their experiences of working with people who are street homeless are summarized in Table 5.4.

Table 5:4

A thematic table of the experiences of government officials

Overarching theme
"To make a change in people's lives" – improving the lives of the people who are homeless
Subthemes
1. Contact with homeless people 2. Empathy and government mandates 3. Limited resources and a loss of clients 4. Experiencing homeless people as "liars"

5.7. "To make a change in people's lives" – improving the lives of the people who are homeless

In their interviews, government officials talk about how their work is focused on changing people's lives. Their experiences reveal that working with people who are street homeless is both rewarding and challenging.

Government Official one is a black African female person working as a RO for five years elaborates:

It's to make a change in people's lives, is to make a change, as I said to you sometimes when you do something that, I think, that thing, that wow thing, and then you feel like wow, I am gonna change, you can change the world. Even though sometimes you, you gonna get days that uhm, you get offish but most of the time you want to change, you are, yeah... (Government official one, working for five years).

Government official one says it is rewarding to see a change in people's lives, even if their jobs can be challenging at times.

I remember when I was started here, I'm not sure whether it was in my mind, when you go close to them, it's like you breath what they breathing, sometimes you think, it's like you breathing, sometimes you go early like 8'Clock, imagine, [Sigh], even the normal person who is not living on the street, the smell in the morning is not nice man, what about the person who didn't take a bath for 3 or 4 months? It is our job anyway, so when uhm, I come close to them or whatever, I will feel, I will think I have this sharp pain in my lungs or whatever, and it will be difficult for me to breath. Now I'm like whenever I'm contacted with this, ah a street person I feel sick, because we didn't even have the injections like the Law enforcement officers and the nurses get to prevent them from contracting the disease... (Government official one, working for five years).

Government official 1 reported feeling as though she was suffocating when in direct contact with street homeless people, as if she were breathing the same air as the homeless. Schiff (2015) states that working with people who are homeless can be both physically and psychologically challenging. According to Fisk, Rakfeldt, and Hefferman (1999), working with people who are homeless requires staff to shift their location of practice from their offices to various community settings. The streets can be dirty and violent, and a person's ability to control what they feel can be difficult. Additionally, research by Parsell (2011) found that outreach workers must navigate client-staff boundaries as well as professional ethics and safety, as these concepts lie outside traditional practice contexts.

Nonetheless, the government officials in this study are motivated by the changes they see in their clients.

Government official two is a black African male person working as a FO for five years, adds to say:

It's a time I have made a change to someone and if I follow that person and see that they have really changed and then I tap myself on the shoulder and I say I have done a change (Government official two, working for five years).

The transformation of the lives of homeless people motivates government officials to engage continuously and actively those who are living on the streets. These government officials visit shelters and other community sites where homeless people sleep or congregate.

Government official one elaborates:

I am a reintegration officer; we are helping homeless people that are living on the streets. We reunify them and then we possibly like refer them to shelters. There are field officers, the ones that you will need to interview. So I am the reintegration officer when we go out on the field, they do screening, uhm, what you call the street people, individually, and offer assistance to then and if there is one who would love to be re-united back to their families, to reunite them to their families or to go to a shelter, then they refer that case to me, then I will work with that individual client and then I will assist that client maybe to go home or maybe they need the assistance of other stakeholders, Government official one, working for five years).

The government officials work directly with people who are homeless and offer homeless people different alternatives to exit homelessness. Similarly, Fisk et al (1999) found that outreach workers take homeless people to desired destinations, help homeless people find beds in local shelters, and help apply for government services. Experiences of government officials thus become essential in shaping and redefining interventions targeting people who are homeless. Similarly, Parsell (2011)

found that social workers working with people experiencing homelessness bring social change on an individual level. The following categories highlight the various experiences of government officials working with street homeless people.

5.7.1. Contact with homeless people

The government officials reveal that their attitudes towards homelessness were negative before they started working with people who are homeless.

Government official two elaborates:

Before we work for this unit, we thought a homeless person is a gangster, yes there are gangsters, but we thought all of them they are in the same bowl like they are gangster, they are very horrible they aggressive all that stuff but when, when we interact with them and get to their circle trying to know them, we find out no man these people are just like you and me, we just that we need to hear from them what is, what are their differences, what is their problem to be, not at home (Government official two, working for five years).

According to government official 2, contact with homeless people elucidates the differences between the groups of people living on the street instead of seeing them as one homogenous group. He reports that being in contact, doing outreach work and engaging with homeless people improved his understanding of homelessness. Fisk et al (1999) also found that outreach workers develop a range of valuable work experience when they have frequent and consistent contact with their clients. These findings also coincide with the narratives of the street homeless participants interviewed who explain that there are many groups of people found living on the streets, and blending the groups is a mistake. The above excerpt shows that dealing with the homeless at the individual level changes attitudes towards the homeless and shows the differences between groups of people living on the street. The interpersonal relationships between government officials and the homeless seem to reduce the

likelihood of considering homeless people as dangerous and threatening (Parsell, 2011). Tsai, Lee, Shen, Southwick, & Pietrzak (2018) also found that interpersonal contact improves sensitivity and clarifies the distinct levels of deprivation found among homeless groups.

Government official1 elaborates:

We love to assist the clients because most of them don't have ID's, that's the first thing that you must actually do, in order for that client to be removed from the street and then they can get like a piece job or whatever (Government official one, working for five years).

Government official1 recognizes that the street homeless do not have the necessary documents needed to access services. Government official 2 also attests to the emotional trauma the street homeless experience from their families. The following quotes support this point:

The challenges that we are having, mostly, is the people that say my mother died, my father marries another woman then this particular mother brings in his family and they start to kick out another family, now we are in a state of people who are having no houses, on the other side, the other person says, my parents, both parents died, my eldest brother or my eldest sister sell the house.. (Government official two, working for five years).

Government officials are sensitive to the various forms of difficulty that people experience on the street. Interactions with the homeless give government officials a better understanding of life on the streets, for example, broken family relationships limit the possibilities of reuniting the homeless with their families.

5.7.2. Empathy and government mandates

In these excerpts, government officials share their thoughts and feelings about the deportation of homeless people and the challenges facing people living on the streets. Government officials feel uncomfortable being associated with the removal of homeless people from urban areas.

Government official two expatiates:

I see it as a challenge, as a challenge of not being on at work, of not having something on your table, of not working. Remember, if you are working, even if you are getting R2500 a week, at least it can change the ways of living. Because of the laws that have been implemented by government, by the City, it happens to that those laws must be actioned by someone which is me, {laughing}…first it must be actioned by me, then if that Lali doesn't want to move in that corner, it's no longer my case now, its law enforcement case for you to be removed there (Government official two, working for five years).

Government official 2 reports that laws to remove street homeless people are implemented by the City of Cape Town, and as an employee, he must obey them. Government official 2 expresses feeling powerless as he describes sadness related to the economic challenges experienced and endured by homeless persons. Similarly, Parsell (2011), although not referring to government officials but social workers, found that social workers often experience tension between organizational imperatives and professional values. Government officials do not believe that their job is to remove the homeless in urban areas, they claim that the services they provide to the homeless on the street are meant to do good. Nonetheless, government officials must also follow the laws of the City of Cape Town to reduce homelessness.

Government official one elaborates:

No, no, we not working with law enforcement. They assist us in those regards where there is a danger that we foresee or when we have like operations….we go there, we assess the situation, if there is one, if the people that need assistance, if there is one that, as you see there is a lot if erected structures in Bellville, so we go there, and if there is no one then we refer the case to law enforcement. Law enforcement will arrange what, they will arrange for an operation. Operation is whereby because we have been there 2 to 3 times and they don't want assistance, but mostly is a crime-related activity

that is in a particular, so because there are a lot of hot spots in Bellville (Government official one, working for five years).

Government officials are constantly involved with the homeless and are forced to leave their familiar environment of the office and work in unfamiliar places with the community. Therefore, they need law enforcement agencies to help them. Moreover, being in these settings that homeless people occupy could increase the likelihood of seeing violent acts or encountering victims of violence (Fisk et al., 1999). Nevertheless, Parsell (2011, p. 336) states that operations involving police and violent deportation can be classified as "law and order"; and has the potential to undermine human rights. Therefore, external demands and expectations that are placed on government officials, such as reducing the number of people who are homeless, can overlook their safety. Similarly, in Australia, continuous engagements with people sleeping rough by outreach workers have been noted (Parsell, 2011). This form of intervention can be an assertive strategy[17] even though it is informed by the desire to reduce homelessness (Parsell, 2011). Therefore, government officials experience tension between empathy for the homeless and their organizational mandates. Another complication, according to government officials 1, is the fact that homeless people choose to live on the street. The following quotes expand on this point:

You see, that is not, you see there, in Bellville night shelter, that is another case, it's not a street ntoni ntoni, that case is uhm, how can I say, uhm, that is a community, I want to say, do you know Bellville mos neh, there? You can't go there because they already, those are not eh structures those are shacks, shacks, it is very difficult to go there, they already made up their minds that people they want eh uhm houses, they only want houses there. Can you see that they just next to Bellville shelter [yes], so if they wanted assistance, they should walk, go to Bellville shelter, it's close, it is only one minute or it doesn't even take them a minute to go to Bellville, to a manager to say, okay, I need this and this, can

[17] Assertive strategy is an outreach used to achieve targets for reducing homelessness in Australia (Parsell, 2011).

you assist me in that regard, they don't want assistance those ones, they only want houses. They already made up their minds, they've got families there, most of them there are couples, you don't find a single person there, it's very rare because they must protect each other, just anything can happen so, so, there is no way that, a community that one, it's not like a street people, it doesn't even if the Law Enforcement will have operations in one day, they will need like, a Land Invasion, Law Enforcement, SAPS, like all the stakeholders that can assist them but not social development because we have been engaging with those long time they don't want assistance, actually they were there in that parking area and then they moved actually themselves to go to that corner because they were there in that parking area and then PRASA like is making use of that parking area, they removed themselves, to got here because they know that nobody is going to bother them because that is not even city council property. I think it is Prasa or Transnet, so that is not our area (Government official one, working five years).

Government official one expresses that homeless people with shelters undermine their intervention and support, thus making it difficult to consider them homeless. Therefore, it is difficult to weigh the choices made by the homeless and the public.

Government official two expatiates:

If I was a street person, I was not going to go to a public area. I was going to go where people will not see me. I wake up there, I roll my sleeping bag everything, I move because of law enforcement and land invasion they are coming in. It's because people are sleeping in public areas where a tax ratepayer is complaining about that, as if we have an area or a block of flats where we can just chuck them in there (Government official two, five years' experience).

Government official one agrees:

Complaints are whereby maybe there is a person who is complaining there are people uhm erecting shelters in the corner of so and so, or maybe there is street person that is in the gate of my yard and then I am afraid, you see, those are, sometimes the complaints that they normally sent us they need Law Enforcement. But we do go in any case just in case maybe there is someone who is going to need help, our services (Government official one, working for five years).

The removal of homeless people in response to public demand shows that policymakers are developing social policies to meet the fears and perceptions of the public. This makes it difficult for government officials who engage with homeless people on the street at the individual level (Belcher & DeForge, 2012). The government officials understand the difficulties faced by homeless people in connection with inquiries from the public. Simultaneously, government officials assert that street homeless people should avoid occupying areas where they cannot afford. Belcher & DeForge (2012) argue that people are often angry with the homeless; that they should not be included in the land of plenty. Therefore, government officials are faced with a dilemma to respond to public requests and remove the street homeless from public spaces, but at the same time, they lack the resources to help their clients and cannot force the street homeless to take up accommodation at the shelters. The following section reveals that the options available to government officials in helping the homeless are extremely limited.

5.7.3. Limited resources and a loss of clients

The limited number of resources available leads to a loss of clients among those who are street homeless. Government officials expand on how limited resources impact their work.

Government official one elaborates:

Sometimes then you phone and then if there is no space you must try the following day, and then if there is no space, and then imagine what are you going to do with that client who said he wants, or

she wants to be assisted, and then you just have to go there, say ok Mr. so and so, I'm still busy with your case, there is no space in the shelter, just hang on in there…we using outside resources in order for our job to work, it's not easy (Government official one, working for five years).

Government official two explains:

You end up losing them, and the other part you will find out the people we are working with which is the homeless people they will tell you straight I don't want to go to a shelter, because the shelter, they are eating this and that, we must be there at such a time whereby I need to be in our route until late, remember the shelter they close their gate at 17:30 to 17:45 so remember these guys are used to be outside 24/7 now they don't want to be in a closed…(Government official two, working for five years).

The limited number of spaces at the shelters lead to the inability to secure shelter for the street homeless who want to be reintegrated. This shows that a lack of resources has a negative impact on the intervention strategies employed by government officials. City of Cape Town (Hendricks et al. 2015) also reported that lack of space and the absence of family units hinder the process of reintegrating street homeless with their families. Government officials say the fact that there are no shelters for homeless people on the streets in Cape Town exacerbates the difficulty of reducing the number of people sleeping outside.

Government official one explains:

Because we as the City of Cape Town we don't have funds, we don't have funds to take the clients, to go home, we rely on other stakeholders that can assist us... (Government official one, working for five years)

Government officials rely on non-profit organizations to help the homeless. This affects the number of homeless people who can be reintegrated. However, the issue is not that there are limited shelters

in Cape Town, SDECD chooses the non-profit organizations to work with that provide shelter. Government officials cannot just choose any shelters for their clients.

Government official one elaborates:

We've been introduced when we started here, we've been introduced with uhm the shelter specifically, there in Bellville, umh Heaven, [Bellville Night Shelter], and then the MES, TASP, and what else, Ubuntu [Ubuntu House], Ubuntu, there in Delft, oh, [oh in Delft], yeah, then, ...and then they will help us if maybe we want to reunify or to relocate a client with that regards, even if the client is having a problem with regards to drugs as well, there in Bellville they normally assist us, because they take the client may be to their uhm other stakeholders where they can be assisted in terms of their drugs and then they will be rehabilitated there and then they will go back to the society... (Government official one, working for five years).

Similary, Parsell (2011) found that contemporary national homeless policy in Australia emphasises intergovernmental and interservice collaboration. Nonetheless, she explains that there are serious implications when people who work with the street homeless do not have direct access to resources. While positive outcomes can be achieved through the current intervention strategy used by government officials, the lack of access to resources needed to end homelessness can reinforce and encourage homelessness. Government officials have no say in shelter policies; and their clients find shelter rules absurd.

Government official one elaborates:

There in the shelter, they've got rules, initially, she said she wanted assistance but now, no there are rules the now {emulating the client's attitude}. I don't want to go to the shelter, actually, I want a house. [ok], you see, they are like that, yhoo, I want a house laughing, I applied for the house a long time ago, no, no, no, nah, nah, yhoo, especially when they see you wearing like uniform or driving

like city council, no, I want a house blaah blaah you see (Government official one, working five years).

Government official one also highlights the following:

The difficult part is when in town, when are you doing like uhm interview with the couple, then the couple will tell you straight, yhu what, sis, do you sleep without your boyfriend? Don't you do the thing the old supposed to do at night, so ma'am don't start with me, I am not going to a shelter, couples they don't want to be separated (Government official 1, working for 5 years).

Government official 1 believes that people who are street homeless are unreasonable with their housing requests as they are unable to evaluate or review the accommodation guidelines at the shelters. Similarly, outreach workers in Phillips et al. (2011) reported that young people who are homeless do not want to use the services supplied or to be hassled. Shelters expect street homeless people to obey rules that those in mainstream society do not have to follow, such as sleeping separately from their partners (Ravenhill, 2008), hence homeless people refuse to use shelters. The rules at the shelters for homeless people are out of the control of government officials hence the number of people sleeping outside increases.

Government official two explains:

This unit was implemented because they can see the huge amount of people who are on the street. As this unit, we are trying by the utmost best to minimize but we are doing our best at the same time. We have some challenges as this unit which the community should understand could understand. And there eh (reflecting)….as we started, we were the field officers of how much, I'm not sure but as a unit, we are 47, and then with also our integration officers (Government official two, working for five years).

Government official 2, reports that the number of homeless people is large, and communities need to understand that government officials are doing the best they can. Government officials work on public requests and are not able to do outreach work daily; other tasks demand their attention.

Government official one elaborates:

And then there are a few of us if you know what I mean like Bellville, but there are only 3 of us. Imagine how big is Bellville. Do you get what I am saying, so we normally go out for the complaints and then sometimes social intervention and then follow-ups and all that kind of thing….I will refer the client the following day, obviously, I am in the office, we do not have cell phones, unfortunately, to phone whilst we outside. You need to come back to phone the shelters. You can't phone, we do not have cell phone allowance, to phone the shelters, you must come back, drive all the way to Belville to come here, [in Cape Town?] (Government official one, working for five years).

The government officials say the scope of their work is too broad and yet there are only a few officials. Also, the lack of resources, such as cell phone devices while in the field, hinders the referral and integration processes. Fisk et al (1999) found that limited resources can lead to feelings of resentment towards social service agencies due to reduced rights and resources, and this could tempt the outreach workers to cross boundaries to help their clients.

5.7.4. Experiencing homeless people as "liars"

There is a belief that homeless people are liars. Government officials also believe that the homeless are fabricating their personal information on the streets.

Government official 1 elaborates:

Because you know most people that are living on the street they sometimes can lie, so I have to go for a follow up to make sure if she really wants to be assisted. (Government official one, working for five years).

Government official two adds:

Or the other thing that I forgot, on the street there, when you get me, you get Thabo, [mm] but when I'm on the street, I'm bishop, laughing, or the surname Waltyn, I am Isaac Waltyn, I am staying in Ravensmead, no. 45. 18th avenue whereas I am not staying in Ravensmead, I am staying in Elsies, Withermoon court no. 4, Withermoon court is a flat mos in Elsies, that's how you get on the street, you don't get straight address, you lucky if you get a straight address, we don't get a straight address and you don't get a straight name (Government official two, working for five years).

It is difficult for government officials to keep track of homeless people because they are changing their names and other personal information. According to Ravenhill (2008), most street homeless people use nicknames and aliases to refer to themselves. According to Goffman (1961), the process of becoming homeless is similar to that of institutionalization, in that it involves the eradication of personal identity, as old clothes, hygiene and personal care cannot be maintain, and the corporate identity is absorbed. This depersonalization can include the loss of their names and origins. Furthermore, hiding their details can be a way of protecting themselves. When homeless people conceal their personal information, it becomes difficult for the government officials to track them down and reunite them with their families; as a result, government officials become suspicious of the street homeless. Nevertheless, government officials continuously reach out to them.

5.8. Summary

In relation to the primary aims of this study, the exploration of the participants' lived experiences revealed that ten participants in this study described themselves as street homeless and one participant did not self-define as a homeless person. Instead, homelessness was related to one's relationship with others. The participants who elaborated on their self-descriptions mentioned that they lack a home, or that they do not have access to housing that can provide stability, security, and access to one's

space. The participants however felt more at home on the streets but rejected being grouped with criminals and gangsters.

The daily lives of the people living on the street were characterized by labelling, victimization, and dehumanization. Labelling, victimization, and dehumanization made it unbearable to live their lives on the street. The participants tried very hard to negotiate and maintain the standard of living valued by the domiciled population. Their experiences revealed that the good in homeless people can be uncovered when people get to know them, not through the external depictions.

Both the street homeless participants and the government officials agreed that there are variations of street homelessness. Engagement with people who live on the streets improved the understanding of street homeless people and highlighted the devastation of homelessness. Government officials experienced tension between organizational imperatives and professional values due to limited resources. It was also highlighted that the current intervention strategy, which includes the reunification of homeless people with their families is limited in cases when family relationships have been fractured. This shows that the current interventions employed are not informed by homeless people's experiences and are thus limited in their capability to end homelessness.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and recommendations

The primary aim of this qualitative study was to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness from the perspective of the people who are living on the street and the perspective of government officials who serve street homeless people in urban Cape Town. In this chapter, I present an overview of the main findings, highlight the practical implications for the field of psychology, and discuss the strengths and limitations of the research. I conclude this chapter with some recommendations for future research.

6.1. General overview

The overall findings of this study were consistent with research on homelessness in South Africa. Firstly, some participants attributed the death of their parents as the reason for their homeless. When the parents died, their houses were sold, and some participants were evicted due to the inability to buy the house or to continue paying rent. In these circumstances, street homelessness emerges as a result of the loss of a home, and not as an intentional choice. For these individuals, street homelessness is a spontaneous response to distressing life experiences. Another finding is that participants intentionally left their homes due to broken family systems, such as toxic family environments, stepfamilies, and abuse. These participants left their homes because they did not feel they belonged as they were abandoned by their parents. For these individuals, street homelessness emerges as an expression of belonging.

After moving to the streets, the participants were labelled and dehumanised for living on the streets. Additionally, the participants were excluded from public protection services. After all, they were perceived to be criminals because they were living on the streets. As a result, the participants lived in constant fear for their lives, as they were exposed to and experienced violent crimes, and such incidents were ignored by the police because homelessness is characterised as an illegal activity.

Although the participants felt helpless due to restrictions in the area that made it impossible to survive on the streets, all the participants had a positive outlook on their futures. The participants were looking forward to being reunited with their children and living dignified lives.

6.1.1. Understanding homelessness through the lens of interpretive phenomenology inspired by Heidegger

Interpretive phenomenology inspired by Heidegger is the conceptual framework that was used in this study to explain the experiences of adults living on the street, as well as those of government officials working with this population. Heidegger's philosophy acknowledges existence as "being in the world", which is understood as the embeddedness and inseparability of a person from the world. The life pathway of the participants was interpreted using the concept of temporality to explore their past (A life before the streets), present (A life on the streets), and future (goals and possibilities). Following the existential investigation of dasein, the participants focused on their lives as individuals and inside their social settings (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2015).

The exploration of the participants' past highlighted that adverse life experiences within the family of origin are the foundation of street homelessness. The death of the participants' parents and their loss of a home highlighted a sense of thrownness and facticity. This thrownness revealed their sense of changed existence, moving from being with their parents and at home to being homeless. Also, the notion of facticity was highlighted in the way their homes were lost; there is a barrier in the current housing policy in context that regulates how poor families should be housed. These regulations show that street homelessness is an outcome of circumscribed limits in context pertaining to the housing policy. Additionally, homelessness manifests as a loss of a home, but also a journey of return and no belonging; to claim the world had and once supported them, with minimal material resources and a new culture. Furthermore, street homelessness is a claim that people are at home in the world, and a

resistance to the contemporary strategies of homemaking; a protest against the circumstances in which people find themselves, such as the decline of their humanity and dignity, is anchored on the idea that home is a place to belong.

Concerning toxic family environments, which fragmented participants' relationships, street homelessness emphasises the idea that a house is not a home. The participants experienced a sense of family and relatedness while living on the streets. These findings were also consistent with research, that people can feel inside in non-home places and outside at home (Manzo, 2003). In this position, street homelessness challenges the view that construes a house as a home, and subsequently, determines how people should inhabit their world.

Participants' experiences also highlighted the Heideggerian notion of "being with" and "unready to hand service entities", in their world (Heidegger, 1927, 2011). In sharing their existence with others, the study revealed how social norms associated with living on the streets shaped their existence. The participants stated that they were seen as different, dehumanised, and labelled as criminals because they were homeless. The exclusion from public safety initiatives, such as protection from law enforcement agencies and police, highlighted these service entities as unready to hand. The law enforcement agencies and police were hostile towards the needs of homeless people. The law enforcement agencies and city bylaws made the streets unbearable for the participants to live in, to the extent that the participants felt that law enforcement agencies drove them to steal, as they were useless in helping them to sustain their livelihoods. These entities undermined their rights to the city.

Despite the unpleasant experiences, the participants expressed resilience and care for their future. Some of the female participants who were mothers expressed a sense of longing to be connected to their children and to model motherhood, while other female participants searched for opportunities that will enable them to work and live dignifying lives, instead of being used in prostitution. Some of the male participants expressed a desire to stop using drugs so that they can reunite with their families.

6.1.2. Experience of government officials

The experiences of government officials revealed that interpersonal contact with homeless people improves understanding, as it helped them to see that there are different groups of people who are street homeless. A lack of resources was the major issue that limited the number of people that the government officials can assist to exit street homelessness. Their experiences also revealed that the complexity of needs among the street homeless is not addressed by shelter policies. Shelter policies and the street homeless people's chosen way of life are not aligned, thus making it difficult for government officials to do their jobs. Also, the government officials believed that the expectations of street homeless people were too high, given the limited resources available. The government officials also expressed the inability to influence and to ensure humanitarian values are incorporated in the shelter policies and procedures. Furthermore, the government officials expressed that they must obey laws implemented by the City of Cape Town, even if they do not agree with the laws that remove street homeless people from public areas when there are limited resources. As a result, government officials believe that it is difficult to satisfy public anxiety and street homeless people's shelter needs.

6.2. Implications for practice

Street homelessness is based on the idea that all people living outside want to be housed or sheltered, yet street homeless people behave differently from people who use shelters. This polarises street homeless people as either in need of shelter or as criminals. Additionally, this overlooks the social and economic challenges associated with shelter and housing such as abuse and affordability. Furthermore, the view that constructs a house as a home externalises and objectifies the world as a place of resources to divide and conquer, instead of as a home. Subsequently, a home is commoditized instead of being a place of warmth and sustenance. Also, the South Africa government has a national housing department but none for homelessness (Desmond et al., 2017). This shows that homelessness

has not been considered as a serious issue because it falls outside the purview of housing and policy consideration.

- Unused private land in South Africa that is closer to the city should be developed for street homeless people, as opposed to the land in the peripheries of society (Cirolia, 2014). The participants in this study were living in a vacant plot in the city. The current provision of housing perpetuates spatial injustice and has become a source of many vulnerabilities in South Africa (Cirolia, 2014).

- An urban policy needs to be developed that outlines the right of homeless people in the city in South Africa (De Beer & Vally, 2015). The following excerpt demonstrates that homeless people in the city have not rights. *No, first we used to be here at the back by the netball field, [but] now they came to remove us because they are busy building that MES thing there, so they have to remove all of us that side. (Charlene, a 28-year-old female, 14 years on the streets).* To meet the needs and demands of business units and public safety, Law enforcement agencies are constantly pushing around homeless people (Paasche et al., 2012).

- Currently, it is not clear as to what right to the city means, given the fact that homeless people's living conditions are opposed by urban managers. The acquisition of a house is out of reach for many homeless people in South Africa. Therefore, the forms of accommodation created by homeless people are not simply an act of survival, but a claim on the world and resistance to modern household strategies. Often, people are encouraged to abandon their rural environment in the hope of a better life and concentrate in urban areas (Fry, 2005). But for some, such promises and dreams are out of their reach. Therefore, people should have homes wherever they choose, outside the traditional models of belonging. It would be worthwhile to consider that people are at home in the world rather than lacking shelter or housing. Therefore,

it would be worthwhile to have a national policy on homelessness that is informed by the perspective of the people who are street homeless.

- Also, the national and provincial government needs to redirect funds towards a welfare policy for the street homeless instead of funding non-profit organisations that provide shelter services. As is evident from this study, homeless people prefer to use their shelters instead of the formal shelters provided by civil society. The following excerpt explains why homeless people prefer to use self-built shelters over formal shelters. *Its full in MES you also sleep outside it's just a roof, under ja, and you will get sick quickly there because we are a lot, you see people sleep in one place, its better outside then, you see, breath is anywhere, but if you inside too many people you can get sick quickly, that's the problem ja... (Breeva, 28-year-old female, 11 years on the streets).* Homeless people expressed several reasons as to why they do not feel comfortable to use shelter, including health-related issues, as expressed by Breeva in the above extract. Also, the inability to sleep with their partners (see section 5.7.3), that was highlighted by government officials interviewed.

6.3. Limitations of the study

This study used interpretive phenomenology. This approach is humanistic, because it is sensitive, and it values unique individual meanings that are often buried within broader generalizations (Sandahl, 1999). The relationship between the participants and I was open and reciprocal. This kind of relationship has the potential to reveal underlying issues, such as secrets and lies, and, to an extent, it can reveal oppressive relationships, as was the case in this study. This resulted in an ethical dilemma whereby I, as a researcher, had to weigh ethical responsibility towards the participants and my legal responsibility towards what was shared. The pursuit of the information given could have endangered the participants.

The individual meanings assigned to the phenomenon under discussion differ from person to person, making it highly subjective. Subjectivity means multiple interpretations can be generated by the phenomenon, thus making it difficult to evaluate the credibility of the research findings. Even if I used methods such as triangulation, member checking, and peer-reviewing, they were irrelevant, because these methods imply that there is an underlying objective reality to be discovered (Angen, 2000). Therefore, knowledge produced by the interpretive paradigm is highly contextualised and cannot be generalized. However, I believe the knowledge produced by this study provides new ways of understanding the phenomenon.

The focus on people's perspectives means that I had to look for participants who could provide thick descriptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thus posing a greater risk of participants' sociological understanding, raising questions of who the data belongs to; how will the data be used; and the degree to which participants have control over the findings. Therefore, giving voice can be contested, because the direction of the study, final interpretation, and published information depends on me.

Besides the limitations of the theoretical framework used, the sampling strategy I used posed other constraints. A purposive sample focuses on "information-rich" cases (Braun & Clarke, 2006) from the study participants. I, therefore, recruited people who have lived for a year or more on the streets without any use of shelters. However, this standard did not take into account the fact that people living on the street frequently change situations and switch between different forms of homelessness and housing (Ravenhill, 2008). This could mean that although the people were not using shelter services regularly, they could have had episodes of being housed during the years spent on the streets. Therefore, I cannot say with certainty that the participants were street homeless for the entire period. Therefore, the information given by the participants might be different from that of a person who has lived for the entire period on the streets. Also, the criteria to know who homeless people are were based on superficial qualities. In this case, did the participants see themselves as street homeless, and

what made me approach these participants? This revealed how my understanding has been shaped by the current literature and preconception of who is street homeless. Another limitation was in participant demography. Although not seeking representativeness, I intended to obtain a balanced sample (Pascal, 2010). Representativeness was achieved in terms of gender and age. However, of the eleven participants, ten were coloured people, and one a black person. This was a limitation as one black person cannot be a representative of the entire black population of homeless people in South Africa (Hendricks et al., 2015). Moreover, not seeking generalizability, the sample size was small and limited to a particular geographic context (Bellville). In my opinion, the context in studies pertaining to street homelessness is questionable due to the mobility of people who are street homeless in this region. Nonetheless, it is possible that a larger sample size would have been more diverse and uncovered the greater depth of the experiences of homelessness (Pascal, 2010). Furthermore, the government official sample was small, which limited the interpretations and conclusions I could draw (Pascal, 2010).

6.4. Recommendations for future research

Based on the questions that emerged from this study and the inconsistencies I identified in the literature, I will make some recommendations for future research. The study identified that most of the participants had someone they knew in advance or a member of the family that was street homeless before moving to the streets. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether these occurrences predispose an individual to homelessness, which can provide more information about the onset of homelessness over and above the identified childhood adverse experiences (Stein et al., 2002). Also identified in the literature is the fact that females exit homelessness quicker than males due to being accompanied by children (Naidoo, 2010). Literature does not say anything about men living with their children on the streets, as was the case in this study. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to investigate men with children on the streets as well as women who leave their children

behind with relatives and friends. Furthermore, as has been revealed in the literature that street homeless people are overshadowed by the homelessness in shack areas, it has been revealed in this study that there are also variations of street homelessness, and sifting or separating the groups would assist with designing effective policies that are appropriate to the needs of each group, such as the street homeless who lost their homes, people who cannot return to their communities due to gangsterism, street dwellers, foreign nationals and streetwalkers.

In conclusion, this study highlighted the subjective experiences of a group of eleven people living on the streets, as well as two government officials working with this population in urban Cape Town. These participants' narratives provided deeper insight into the dynamics of street homelessness in Cape Town. Also illustrated in this thesis is the complexity and the challenging nature of street homelessness in South Africa. The causes of street homelessness were deeper and involved social, economic, and political factors, which are informed by the past land distributions and restrictions in South Africa. Knowledge gained from this study can therefore help in designing effective interventions to address street homelessness and to promote the well-being of the people that are living on the streets by improving the environments they occupy.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview schedule: Experiences of the street homeless people

1. Opening

[Greet participant], my name is Nobulali Jadezweni. I am a student at the University of Stellenbosch. I am researching the experiences of street homeless in urban Cape Town, within the Tygerberg municipality.

I would like to ask you some personal questions about your experiences on street homelessness, as a government official assigned to work with people living on the streets.

I would like to use these experiences to add to the existing knowledge about street homelessness. This information will be made available to the Department of Social Welfare to assist them to work better with the street homeless population group.

The interview will take approximately 60-90 min, do you have time to participate?

2. Body

Demographic questions

a) How old are you?

b) Do you have an identity document?

c) Do you have an address that you use?

d) What did you do before living on the street?

e) What is your highest level of education?

Identity

a) Please tell me about your move to the street.

Prompt: Where were you staying before and what happened?

b) How is the move to the street impacts the way you see yourself?

c) How does the way you see yourself impacts your relationships?

d) How do you feel about living on the street?

e) How long do you think you will stay on the streets?

f) What do you think people feel about you living on the streets?

g) How do you think your living on the street impact on other people?

h) What do you think people should understand bout street homelessness?

Coping strategies

i) On a day-to-day basis, what are your needs?

Prompt: The need to eat, to wash, to wear, to sleep, to urinate, etc.?

j) How does being on the street fulfil your needs?

k) How much of your needs are met by being on the street?

Prompt: What need(s) is the area fulfilling for you?

l) What do you do with your unmet needs?

Prompt: Are there any external resources outside the street that you consult to meet your needs?

m) How would you describe your experience of seeking these other resources?

Health and wellbeing

n) Tell me about your health while living on the street?

Prompt: How do you think living on the street impact your health?

o) How do you maintain your health?

3 **Closing**

Thank you so much for taking the time to answer the questions. What would you prefer as an incentive as listed on the consent form?

Thank you once again [Name of participant].

Appendix B: Interview schedule: Experience of a government official(s)

1. Opening

[Greet participant], my name is Nobulali Jadezweni. I am a student at the University of Stellenbosch. I am researching the experiences of street homeless in urban Cape Town, within the Tygerberg municipality.

I would like to ask you some personal questions about your experiences on street homelessness, as a government official assigned to work with people living on the streets.

I would like to use these experiences to add to the existing knowledge about street homelessness. This information will be made available to the Department of Social Welfare to assist them to work better with the street homeless population group.

The interview will take approximately 60-90 min, do you have time to participate?

2. Body

Occupational details

a) How long have you been working in this department?

b) Will you please describe your roles and responsibilities?

c) Which area(s) is assigned to you by this department?

Experiences of street homelessness

d) Could you please tell me about the street people you have observed?

e) How would you describe your experiences of seeing these people?

Prompt: *What comes to mind as you see the street homeless people's way of life in relation to your responsibilities?*

f) From what you have observed, how would you define street homelessness?

g) Will you please tell me about the recent interaction with the street people that you have worked with?

h) Is this typical of the work you do in this area?

Prompt: If not, what does work entail?

i) What is it like to work with people who are homeless?

Prompt: what effect does it have on your day-to-day life?

j) On a day-to-day basis, how do you deal with working with people that live on the street?

Prompt: What helps/ gets on the way?

k) Based on your experiences, what are the difficulties/challenges that you experience in working with the street homeless?

l) How do you think that we can help those who are homeless to move off the street?

m) Is there anything else to do with your experience of working with street people that we have not talked about?

3. Closing

Thank you so much for taking the time to answer the questions. The recorded information will be transcribed into written text, and I would like to send you a copy of the transcription of our conversation, so that you may verify the information in writing. Please advise me of the email address that I can use to send the information.

Thank you once again [Name of participant].

Appendix C: Consent form for the street homeless people

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Ms. Nobulali Jadezweni and Dr. Anthea Lesch, of the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because of your lived experience of living on the streets within the Tygerberg community.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study wants to gain an understanding of the experience of street homelessness from people who are living on the street as well as that of the government officials who are working with people that are street homeless. The aim is to understand the benefits and challenges faced on a day to day basis by the people mentioned above.

WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview either at the Bellville auditorium (for the people living on the street) or at the Department's office involved (for government official). This is to make you feel comfortable and to avoid any distractions and noise during the interview. The interview will be between you and the researcher. The interview is going to take place in English, and it will be recorded. The estimated time of the interview is

approximately 60-90 mins. You will not be identified by name during the recording. The information recorded is confidential. Subsequently, the audio record of the interview will be kept in a safe place, a cabinet inside the supervisor's office, at the Stellenbosch University, and only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the recordings.

POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

A potential risk is the sharing of personal information, as some of the questions will ask information that you might feel uncomfortable to talk about. However, the researcher does not want to cause you any harm. You do not have to take part if you think the questions are too personal, or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable. A social worker will be available after the interview should you wish to see them after the interview.

POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You may not benefit directly from the study; however, your information will add to the existing literature in terms of overall experiences of street homelessness in the urban Cape Town area should this document be published.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There is an incentive that you will receive for participating in this study. This incentive offers two options. One is to choose a paid night stay at any of the shelter facilities in the area, such as the MES Safe Space or The Haven Night Shelter. Alternatively, you may choose a meal voucher worth approximately R30.00 from Shoprite or Pick n pay store. These incentives will be available after the interview has been completed. If you withdraw from the interview, the researcher will not be able to compensate.

PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with the researcher during this study, and that could possibly identify you as a participant, will be protected. This will be done by using pseudonyms to protect your name from disclosure and as well as your location. However, urban Cape Town will be mentioned in the final report. The recorded information, and all other documents pertaining to this study, will be locked in a cabinet in the supervisor's office, at Stellenbosch University.

The recorded information will be shared with the supervisor at the University of Stellenbosch for verification purposes, to ensure that the information has been transcribed accurately from audio into text material by the research student. You have the option to opt-out if you do not want your information to be shared. The information of this study will also be shared for future publications.

There is no opportunity to review your recorded information once it has been transcribed into text. However, you will have an opportunity to listen to the recording after the interview should you wish, once the study has been compiled and the final report submitted, the audio recordings will be erased.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if you are disrespectful and also refuse to answer most of the questions in the study.

RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Nobulali Jadezweni:

0833140973

lalijd@gmail.com/20739915@sun.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr. Anthea Lesch

alesch@sun.ac.za

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies because you are participating in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Nobulali Jadezweni.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**

Appendix D: Consent form for the government officials

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STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Ms Nobulali Jadezweni and Dr Anthea Lesch, of the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because of your lived experience of working with people that is living on the streets within the Tygerberg community.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study wants to gain an understanding of the experience of street homelessness from people who are living on the street as well as that of the government officials who are working with people that are street homeless. The aim is to understand the benefits and challenges faced on a day to day basis by the people mentioned above.

WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview either at the Bellville auditorium (for the people living on the street) or at the Department's office involved (for government official). This is to make you feel comfortable and to avoid any distractions and noise during the interview. The interview will be between you and the researcher. The interview is

going to take place in English and it will be recorded. The estimated time of the interview is approximately 60-90 mins. You will not be identified by name during the recording. The information recorded is confidential. Subsequently, the audio record of the interview will be kept in a safe place, a cabinet inside the supervisor's office, at the Stellenbosch University, and only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the recordings.

POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

A potential risk is the sharing of personal information, as some of the questions will ask information that you might feel uncomfortable to talk about. However, the researcher does not want to cause you any harm. You do not have to take part if you think the questions are too personal, or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable.

POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You may not benefit directly from the study, however, your information will add to the existing literature in terms of overall experiences of street homelessness in the urban Cape Town area should this document be published. A final report will be made available to the Department of Welfare to assist further with their work on street homelessness.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There is no incentive for participating in this study. However, the research student is appreciative of your involvement in her development as a research student.

PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with the researcher during this study, and that could identify you as a participant, will be protected. This will be done by using pseudonyms to protect your name from disclosure and as well as your location. However, urban Cape Town will be mentioned in the final report.

The recorded information will be shared with the supervisor at the University of Stellenbosch for verification purposes, to ensure that the information has been transcribed accurately from audio into text material by the research student. You have the option to opt-out if you do not want your information to be shared. The information of this study will also be shared for future publications. There is an opportunity to review your recorded information once it has been transcribed into written text. However, you will have an opportunity to listen to the recording after the interview should you wish, once the study has been compiled and the final report submitted, the audio recordings will be erased.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if you are disrespectful and also refuse to answer most of the questions in the study.

RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Nobulali Jadezweni:

0833140973

lalijd@gmail.com/20739915@sun.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr Anthea Lesch

alesch@sun.ac.za

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because you are participating in this research study.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Nobulali Jadezweni.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.

	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**

Appendix E: Application for institutional permission

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APPLICATION LETTER FOR INSTITUTIONAL PERMISSION

INSTITUTION NAME & ADDRESS: Department of Social Development

INSTITUTION CONTACT PERSON: Jacquiline Beukes

INSTITUTION CONTACT NUMBER: 021 400 3522

INSTITUTION EMAIL ADDRESS: jacquiline.beukes@westerncape.gov.za

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TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Street homelessness in urban Cape Town: An exploratory study of the lived experiences of people living on the streets.

ETHICS APPLICATION REFERENCE NUMBER: SUD-HSD-004778

RESEARCHER: Nobulali Jadezweni

DEPT NAME & ADDRESS: Wilcock Building Stellenbosch University

CONTACT NUMBER: 0833140973

EMAIL ADDRESS: lalijd@gmail.com

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research

I am a Master's student in the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. I am writing to request your assistance with my research on street homeless in the Western Cape Province. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Dr. Anthea Lesch. My research aims to explore the lived experiences of street homelessness from the perspective of those who are living on the street. A related aim of my research is to explore the perspectives of government officials who work with and serve the street homeless. The findings of my research will be reported in a thesis for the award of my Master's degree in Psychology, as well as in peer-reviewed publications. If I am granted permission to conduct interviews with government officials in your Department, I will also provide you with a report of my findings that may be of use to you in your work with the street homeless.

To collect data for my research I will be conducting interviews with individuals who are living on the streets, as well as government officials who work with and serve the needs of the street homeless. I am requesting permission to conduct interviews with government officials employed by the Department of Social Development who work with individuals who are street homeless. If I am granted permission to conduct interviews with government officials in your office, I will conduct a one-on-one interview with each official. The interview will deal with questions relating to their experiences of working with the street homeless. This interview will be one hour long and will take place at the Bellville library auditorium. The conduct of my research will be governed by ethical codes of research conduct, and I will submit my research protocol to the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University for their approval before data collection commences.

If you have any further questions or concerns about my research, please feel free to contact me via email (lalijd@gmail.com) or telephonically (0833140973). Alternatively, feel free to contact my supervisor, Dr. Anthea Lesch, via email (alesch@sun.ac.za) or telephonically (021 808 3056).

Thank you in advance for your assistance in this regard and looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Nobulali Jadezweni

Masters Student – Psychology Department, Stellenbosch University

Appendix F: Approval letter from the Research Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITEIT
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APPROVED WITH STIPULATIONS
REC Humanities New Application Form

29 January 2018

Project number: PSY-2018-6113

Project title: Street homelessness in urban Cape Town: An exploratory study of the lived experiences of people living on the streets

Dear Miss Nobulali Jadezweni

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 8 January 2018 was reviewed by the REC: Humanities on 25 January 2018 and approved with stipulations.

Present Committee Members:

Mrs. Alwerí Brand, Dr. Bronwyne Coetzee, Prof Jeremias De Klerk, Ms. Mare De Villiers, Mr Terence Erasmus, Mrs. Magdalena Fouche, Miss Clarissa Graham, Dr. Susan Hall, Dr. Leonard Hansen, Ms. Lindiwemhakamuni Khoza, Dr. Derica Lambrechts, Mr Sefako Mathibe, Dr. Theodore Nell, Prof Douglas Rawlings, Dr Anna Smith, Mr. Jerall Toi, Dr. Samantha Van Schalkwyk, Dr. Karen Welman, Mr. Aden Williams

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
25 January 2018	24 January 2019

REC STIPULATIONS:

The researcher may proceed with the envisaged research provided that the following stipulations, relevant to the approval of the project are adhered to or addressed:

1. OVERVIEW

The study aims to explore the experiences of people living on the street in urban Cape Town, as well as the perspectives of government officials who deal with the issue of homelessness. The proposal and application are well written and it is clear that reflection on the potential ethical risks of the study has taken place.

2. PARTICIPANT SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT

The researcher will make use of purposive sampling for both groups of participants. The inclusion criteria are clear and appropriate. The researcher will approach participants who are living on the streets and explain the study to them. Those who wish to participate will accompany the researcher to the interview location (the Bellville library auditorium), where they will complete an informed consent form before the interview commences. It is not clear whether the researcher has adequately considered her own safety during this process. Will she be accompanied, or alone? [RESPONSE REQUIRED]

3. INSTITUTIONAL AND EXTERNAL PERMISSIONS

The researcher has requested permission from the Department of Social Development. A formal permission letter can only be obtained once REC approval has been granted, and this should be forwarded to the REC before data collection begins. [ACTION REQUIRED]

HOW TO RESPOND:

Some of these stipulations may require your response. Where a response is required, you must respond to the REC within **six (6)** months of the date of this letter. Your approval would expire automatically should your response not be received by the REC within 6 months of the date of this letter.

Your response (and all changes requested) must be done directly on the electronic application form on the Infonetica

Appendix G: Approval letter from the City of Cape Town

CITY OF CAPE TOWN
ISIXEKO SASEKAPA
STAD KAAPSTAD

Date: 22 MAY 2018
TO: DIRECTOR: ORGANISATIONAL POLICY & PLANNING
REF: DOM2842

Research Approval Request

In terms of the City of Cape Town System of Delegations (January 2018) - Part 29, No 1 Subsections 4 and 5 and 6: "*Research:*

(4) To consider any request for the commissioning of an organizational wide research report in the City and to approve or refuse such a request.

(5) To grant authority to external parties that wish to conduct research within the City of Cape Town and/or publish the results thereof. (Delegated to Dir OPP)

(6) To after consultation with the relevant Executive Director: grant permission to employees of the City of Cape Town to conduct research, surveys etc. related to their studies, within the relevant directorate

The Director: Organisational Policy & Planning is hereby requested to consider, in terms of sub-section 5, the request received from

Name : Ms Nobulali Jadezweni
Designation : Master of Art majoring in Psychology student at Stellenbosch University
Research Title: "Street homelessness in urban Cape Town: An exploratory study of the lived experiences of people living on the streets".

Taking into account the recommendations below (see Annexure for detailed review):

Recommendations:
That the CCT via the Director: Organisational Policy & Planning grants permission to Ms Nobulali Jadezweni, a full-time Master of Arts student (majoring in Psychology) at Stellenbosch University, to conduct research subject to the following conditions:

- The Director: Social Development & Early Childhood Development (SD&ECD)or his/her nominee(s) being made aware of and advising the researcher on (a) the number of SDECD officials meet the selection criteria and may be approached for possible participation, (b) guiding the researcher on validity of and any appropriate research action as may be required in reflecting the results from the research in the Tygerberg area, to infer applicability to Cape Town as a whole, (c) making input to the research methods to tools to enhance City's potential use of the information, and (d) any other related alerts. :
- The willingness and/or availability of the SD&ECD officials to participate in the research in a voluntary capacity;
- The proposed research focus being adhered to, and it not impacting on any programmes or projects the City or City partners may have in process or planned;
- A clear acknowledgement in the report that the views of the participating CCT officials are not regarded as official CCT policy;
- The CCT branding and logo not being used;
- Submission of the completed research report to the Office of the Executive Director: Strategic Governance and the Manager: Research Branch, Department of Organisational Policy and Planning, and the Director: Social Development & Early Childhood Development department within 3 months of completion of the research and report.
- Permission being obtained from the Executive Director: Strategic Governance to publish the study.

✓ 22/05/2018
CL-gLV

Approved ☑ Comment: _____
Not Approved Comment: _____

Hugh Cole – Director: Organisational Policy & Planning

31/5/2018
Date

CIVIC CENTRE IZIKO LEENKONZO ZOLUNTU BURGERSENTRUM
12 HERTZOG BOULEVARD CAPE TOWN 8001 PRIVATE BAG X9181 CAPE TOWN 8000
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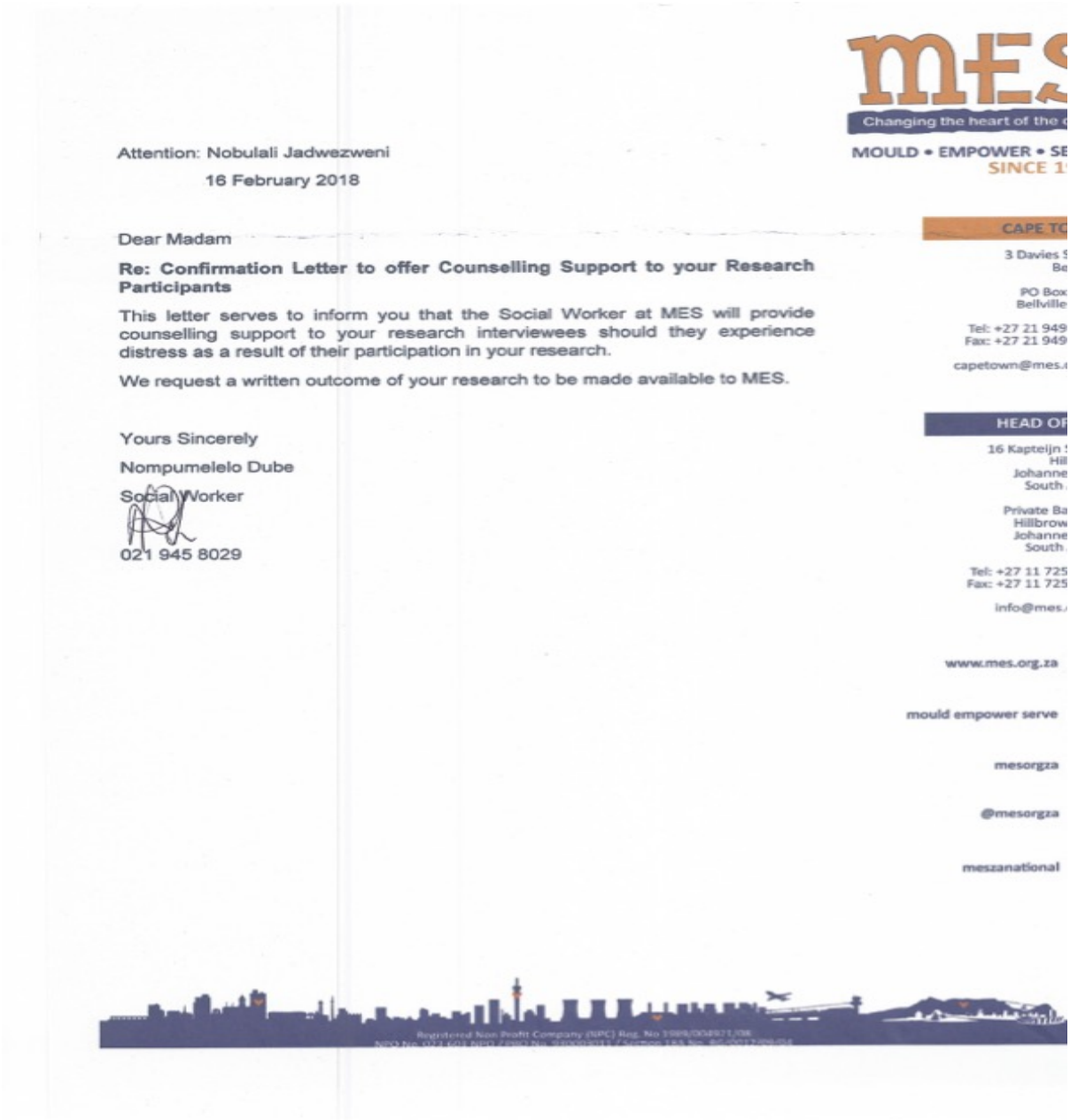
Making progress possible. Together.

Appendix H: Letter of support from MES



MES

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MOULD • EMPOWER • SE

SINCE 1

Attention: Nobulali Jadwezweni

16 February 2018

Dear Madam

Re: Confirmation Letter to offer Counselling Support to your Research Participants

This letter serves to inform you that the Social Worker at MES will provide counselling support to your research interviewees should they experience distress as a result of their participation in your research.

We request a written outcome of your research to be made available to MES.

Yours Sincerely

Nompumelelo Dube

Social Worker

021 945 8029

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info@mes.

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Appendix I: Latter of support from Omega Foundation

Chris Prins
(At Omega Foundation)

Ω

Counselling Psychologist/Voorligtingsielkundige
MA (US): HOD (UNISA): Diploma Addiction Care (US)
HPCSA Registr PS0040010: Pr no 8627711
Accredited: Addiction Professional Federation of South Africa (www.apfsa.co.za)

Appointments: 0832322461 ■ E mail: omegafoundationsa@gmail.com ■ www.omegafoundation.co.za ■ Address: 1 Solway, Bellville (Behind Mediclinic Louis Leipoldt)

The Ethics Committee
Stellenbosch University
Stellenbosch

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter serves to confirm that I, the undersigned **Christiaan (Chris) Johannes Prins**, a registered Counseling Psychologist from Omega Foundation, have agreed to assist Nobulali Jadezweni with her research project. Nobulali can refer her research participants to me for counseling, at no cost to the participants.

I, **Christiaan Johannes Prins** will refer the participants to the relevant government departments for further assistance, should the participants wish to do so.

Yours Sincerely

Chris Prins

Appendix J: Response to Research Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

02 March 2018

Research Ethics Committee
Stellenbosch University
Stellenbosch

SU Project ID: PSY 2018-6113

To Whom It May Concern at Stellenbosch

RESPONSE TO REC STIPULATION
The researcher will adhere to the following investigator's responsibilities as a way of ensuring her safety.

a) The interviews will be carried out early in the day and within office hours. The researcher will start the recruitment of the participants between the following times, 10:00 am to 3:00 pm, these are the times that most people are visible on the streets in the area.
b) The researcher will be accompanied by someone who is familiar with the area and works in one of the community developments projects in the area.
c) The researcher will leave personal belongings and research equipment at the Bellville Library auditorium, which will be locked, before the recruitment of the participants.
d) The researcher will have a basic phone fully charged with a speed dial of the local law enforcement field workers who are responsible for public safety in the area. This will function as an emergency contact number for the researcher. The researcher will make sure that the cell phone is on at all times while she is on the streets and switched off when the researcher enters the library.

Kind Regards
Nobulali Jadezweni

Appendix K: Data analysis

Interview 1

Father and son

Would you mind telling me Father and Son, how did you come about to be in Bellville?

Grief and loss

Yes I was here in Bellville I was born, in (Spatial position) Bellville South, I was staying there in Stillvan, and in the flats in Bellville South, yes, yes, come up to visit after, a (confinement in prison) couple of years I was in prison, I come out and see (loss of parents) my father died and mother died there between, and some of the way my mother was by my father's, her father's house, and she was looking after the house and I was there by that house, and then I come out of prison(loss of property) , and that they buy the house out of nowhere out of force, and that's the way I come back to the street. And now (disconnected from family members) my living going on without knowing where my own family apart of growing up to live with them, and the life was taking me away from the living on earth into prison (prison is perceived as "another world"), and that's the kind of way I move to the streets. I lose everything, half of my mother and father, niece, niece lovers, I cannot forget, without living with it, because we are 11 people and I am the youngest in the house.

(Participant – is obsessed with "protection of community/ homeless protector" and desire to belong "I become a part of the people" – this could mean he blames himself for losing the family property. He was confined in prison at the time "I am not proud of the past – I was drinking too much, and I hurt my family". This sense of responsibility could be covering the feelings of guilt.

I was a part of them (inclusiveness), disliked past self, anger and aggression ascribe to being part of a social movement, I became a homeless people (new identity), lack of compassion,

You see and sometimes I was cross, beating, cross, sometimes a bit insulting because I was living with

Commented [NJ1]:
Commented [NJ2]:
Commented [NJ3]:
Commented [NJ4]:
Commented [NJ5]:
Commented [NJ6]: IMPACT OF LOSS ON THE SELF/ FAMILY
Commented [NJ7]: Place of birth / place of origin
Roots of the client
change, disconnection
Commented [NJ8]: Type of dwelling in `Bellville south
Commented [NJ9]: Assurance repitition
Commented [NJ10]: Reconnecting with family after a number of years in prison
Commented [NJ11]: The number of years spent in prison
Commented [NJ12]: Released from prison – I come out and see- state of realisation – shock. Major life event
Commented [NJ13]: Parents died while in prison
Commented [NJ14]: changes unknown to him while in prison
Commented [NJ15]: intergenerational sustainability of property
Commented [NJ16]: Repeated - I come out of prison
Commented [NJ17]: House bought out of nowhere out of force
Commented [NJ18]: The way of coming to the streets
Commented [NJ19]: Living without knowing your family
Commented [NJ20]: Disruption of family structure (disconnect) – "and the life was taking me away from the living on earth into prison"
Commented [NJ21]: Present life is filled with past memories
Commented [NJ22]: Left with memories of everyone he knew
Commented [NJ23]: Repeat – life was taking me away
Commented [NJ24]: Feelings of alienation – out of earth into prison
Commented [NJ25]: Loss of family/ relationships
Commented [NJ26]: SOCIAL AGGRESSION TO PROTECT SOCIAL RIGHTS
Commented [NJ27]: EXPRESSED EMOTIONS
Commented [NJ28]: Anger and unmet expectations
Commented [NJ29]: Affiliations – ANC